An historical inquiry into the process of curriculum formation for Religious and Moral Education in Scottish Non-Denominational Secondary Schools from circa 1970

Michael G Watters

M.A. (Hons), B.A. (Hons) Oxon., PGCE Cantab., M.A. Oxon., MEd., PGDip.

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School of Education, College of Social Sciences

University of Glasgow

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Abstract

Religious and Moral Education occupies a statutory position within the curriculum in Scotland and the study of Christianity is central to the subject. The subject is simultaneously expected to take account of changes in the belief patterns of Scottish society. An understanding of how the nature and purpose of the subject have been interpreted is therefore an area that has a bearing upon the ongoing debate surrounding the nature of the subject curriculum within Curriculum for Excellence and has a clear impact upon the delivery of Religious Education within schools.

A curriculum is an attempt to transmit or transform the cultural context in which it is taught. By illuminating the process of curriculum formation over time, the aim of this study is to contextualise the current position of Religious Education. As it is therefore necessary to identify continuities and changes over time, a method of historical analysis is the appropriate means by which curriculum development may be researched. This must be applied to an analysis of both the cultural context and to the curriculum documents for Religious and Moral Education.

The institutional aspect of curriculum formation within the Scottish education system indicates that the documents to be considered for documentary analysis are those which were centrally produced. The analysis is conducted by constructing a discourse in the interpretative tradition of document analysis where it is understood that it is possible to determine the meaning of the documents to contemporaries by examining the language and structure of the text and where the historical and cultural context of the documents and their production is understood.

The analysis concludes that the curriculum has developed according to a distinctly Scottish conception of the purpose of education and a distinctly Scottish conception of the purpose of Religious Education within the education system. Education in Scotland is concerned with human growth and development which involves the acquisition of personal emotional capacities alongside practical skills and a community-based value system. Religious and Moral Education is particularly concerned with the transmission of the cultural heritage and traditions of Protestant Christianity and with the development of the community-orientated values of Presbyterianism. There is a corresponding focus on developing the critical skills necessary to engage meaningfully with those values such that pupils develop a specific conception of the meaning, value and purpose of life.

Table of Contents

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Michael G Watters

Signature: 

Introduction

In Scotland there exists a statutory duty on local authorities to ensure that both Religious and Moral Education, and Religious Observance, take place in schools administered by local government within the council area. Religious and Moral Education is the name given to Religious Education as a curriculum area within those schools in Scotland officially defined as non-denominational, a designation indicative of the Christian cultural and social context within which Scottish education has historically existed, and which also specifically distinguishes them from the other schools which exist within the Scottish education system but which are not within the parameters of this study, namely, the state-funded Roman Catholic schools where Religious Education is a distinctive curriculum area unique to these schools, likewise beyond the scope of this study, and not to be confused with Religious and Moral Education.

The requirement to provide both Religious and Moral Education, and Religious Observance, dates from the Education (Scotland) Act 1872 and is maintained in a succession of Education (Scotland) Acts until the most recent Act dealing with Religious Education in 1980. No legislative changes have been made by the Scottish Parliament to the legal requirements subsequently. Religious and Moral Education therefore occupies a privileged and protected position within the curriculum in Scotland.

Within the subject the study of Christianity is similarly privileged and protected, being the only religion whose teaching is required by law. The subject is also expected to regard the actual religious beliefs and practices of people in Scotland as relevant to the selected content of the subject and to the selected method of teaching the subject, and to continually take account of changes in the belief patterns of Scottish society. Specifically, the Scottish Government requires that the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education reflects the

Christian nature of Scottish culture, traditions and values whilst noting that religious affiliation has diversified over time and that there exists the likelihood of a continuing diversity in the faith and belief traditions represented within the country (The Scottish Government, 2011a, 2011b).

It is necessary to ask what the content of Religious Education is to be and what the approach to that content is to be, or in other words to ask what the nature of Religious Education is to be, if the subject is to reflect the contemporary culture, traditions and values of Scotland whilst acknowledging that these, as they are to be taught, are derived from historic rather than contemporary Christianity. The implication is that a study of Christian beliefs and practices, whether historic or contemporary, would not in itself address the stated requirements. Some explicit relation of Christianity to contemporary national culture, traditions and values would seem to be expected to demonstrate their continuing Christian nature.

It is also necessary to ask what is meant by the requirement for Religious Education as a subject to take account of change in religious affiliation and diversity in faith and belief traditions. The teaching approach required to address a change is different to that necessary to state, or reflect on, or assess the significance of a change, and the inference that may be drawn is that the latter is not the intended purpose of the subject. It seems that some explicit relation of diverse faith and belief traditions to contemporary national culture, traditions and values is expected, to establish a response to such changes in faith and belief as they relate to culture, traditions and values. It is necessary to understand the purpose of the subject to understand the response that is to be sought.

To teach a subject it is necessary to understand what is to be taught and why it is to be taught. It is not possible to teach the knowledge, skill and understanding of a subject in the abstract. It is necessary to know the purpose of the subject such that activities which transmit

knowledge and develop the skill of applying that knowledge in order to engender understanding, are undertaken with a view to achieving the broader purpose of the subject. It is necessary to understand what is meant by 'Religious and Moral Education' within the context of Scottish education.

An understanding of how the nature and purpose of the subject have been conceived is therefore an area that has a bearing upon current debate surrounding the nature of the Religious and Moral Education curriculum within Curriculum for Excellence and has a clear impact upon the delivery of the curriculum within schools. The process of curriculum formation for Religious and Moral Education has been undertaken over time in response to the requirements of the Education Acts and as an interpretation of them. In that respect an understanding of how the nature and purpose of Religious Education has developed over time is central to an understanding of how it is intended that the subject be delivered.

In fact, the nature and purpose of Religious Education can only be understood in context, particularly when there exists legislation governing the provision of the subject and that legislation is itself historic. It is necessary to understand the meaning of the requirements for the subject to contemporaries in their historic, cultural, religious and social context, establishing the underlying reasoning such that those principles governing the rationale of the subject may be applied in the current context where the cultural, religious and social context being different, there might otherwise be a different understanding of the purpose rather than simply a different approach to fulfilling the same purpose. It is equally necessary to confirm that without changes in legislation there have nonetheless been no changes in the purpose of the subject as a result of cultural, religious and social change. An historical analysis of Religious and Moral Education is the appropriate means of achieving such understanding.

An historical analysis of the subject to that end is not something which has been previously conducted, perhaps due to the nature of Scottish teaching which historically has not consisted of autonomous teachers, accountable on the basis of results for the effective creation and implementation of a bespoke curriculum, an approach to teaching which is envisioned will change with the flexibilities inherent within the Curriculum for Excellence.

It is noteworthy, as will be considered at the conclusion of the study, that the historic curriculum documents on which the study is based were removed from general access as unnecessary for current practitioners and current researchers. Without the historic documents it will not be possible in the future to conduct research into the history of the subject by examining primary source material. In particular it will be impossible to study whether any change has taken place in the purpose of the subject over time relative to the changing cultural, social and religious context of the subject, or to study any changes in the approach to fulfilling this purpose relative to the changing cultural, social and religious context. This therefore removes the ability to understand why the purpose of the subject is as it is in the current context, which inevitably limits the ability of practitioners to fulfil that purpose. It further limits the ability of practitioners to react to the effect of cultural, social and religious change on pupils and enable pupils to engage appropriately with the subject in the future. A lack of understanding as to how the subject is intended to respond to changes in the cultural, social and religious context, risks a superficial approach to the subject.

Current debate, such as it is, is limited in, or ignorant of, an understanding of the purpose of the subject, which is often misunderstood because there is no sense evident of how the subject has developed over time, to the extent that the subject is often referred to as if the approach is that of previous decades.

This study therefore proposes to undertake an historical inquiry into the formation of the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education in non-denominational Scottish secondary schools from circa 1970 in order to determine how the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education during this period were intended to be understood. By analysing the process of curriculum formation over time, the aim is to contextualise the current position.

To understand the reasoning or rationale which determines the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education over time it is necessary to understand that the significance of what was taught, how it was taught and why it was taught, particularly in terms of culture, traditions, and values, is relative to the cultural context in which the curriculum is delivered. If the cultural context and its values are different to the culture and values being taught, then the significance of the nature and purpose of the curriculum lies in its intention to transform the cultural context. If the curriculum mirrors the context then the significance is found in the intention of the curriculum to transmit and maintain the culture and values of the society at that particular point in time. The significance is also found in any intention to adapt to subsequent changes in the cultural context and mirror those changes in the content of the curriculum.

Achieving an understanding of the nature and purpose of the Religious Education curriculum and the historical, cultural and religious context within which that curriculum exists over a period of time necessitates that an historical study is undertaken, and likewise requires the adoption or development of an appropriate method of historical analysis with which to approach the source material and on the basis of which conclusions may be justified.

It is the intention of this study to explain why an historical analysis specifically is necessary for an inquiry of this nature, noting particularly the absence of any actual analysis in previous historical studies of Religious Education, and to develop an historical method of analysis

appropriate for the study. Having done so, the study will examine the historical, cultural and religious context of the curriculum over the period under consideration in the light of the dominant method of analysis developed for forming an understanding of cultural and religious change over time, that of secularisation theory. It will then be possible to understand the historical context of the literature relating to changes in Religious Education and of the curriculum documents which are relevant to the inquiry, and to interpret these documents in line with the adopted method of historical analysis and explain their significance.

The study will highlight the distinctively Scottish nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education in Scottish schools, highlighting the uniqueness of the Scottish approach to what is taught, how it is taught and why it is taught, observing that this distinctiveness is not stressed in previous studies of Religious Education in Scotland, and that therefore the significance and implications are not widely recognised, specifically that pupils are taught how to acquire religious beliefs and encouraged to do so, rather than engaging in an objective study of the beliefs and practices of historic religions. The study is an historical analysis not previously conducted and because of the difficulties accessing primary source material, limited opportunities exist for further engagement with source material in the same vein.

Chapter One will examine what is meant by the historical method and develop an explanation of why an historical method of research is specifically needed to conduct this inquiry by explaining the purpose of an historical study and relating this to the purpose of this study, noting the historical method as a means of identifying continuities and changes in the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education over time and the importance of the method for addressing the significance of the cultural and historic context of the curriculum documents under examination. The chapter will consider the development of a rationale for applying the method and the different approaches to applying an historical method,

concluding that the chosen method of historical research is that of contextualising the documents and constructing a discourse in the interpretative tradition of document analysis.

Establishing the historical, cultural and religious context of the curriculum and establishing the cultural heritage and traditions that the subject teaches as the focus of the first research question, will make it possible to determine whether the content of the subject is taught with the intention of transmitting the prevailing culture or with the intention of transforming it, with a specific determination of the knowledge, understanding and values being taught as the focus of the second research question, establishing the extent of continuity and the extent of change as the focus of the third and fourth research questions.

Chapter Two will therefore proceed from the premise that a curriculum is either a response to societal change in a reactionary sense that seeks to preserve cultural heritage, traditions and values, or it in fact parallels changes in attitudes to cultural heritage and associated traditions and values. To understand the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education it is necessary to understand the social and cultural nature of the society in which those responsible for forming the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education exist and to determine the purpose of the subject over time it is necessary to examine the broader historical, cultural and religious context in which Religious Education takes place. The chapter will examine the historical, cultural and religious context of the curriculum with an examination of the position, nature and significance of religion in Scotland over the period to establish the importance of religion at a public level in society and its role and the nature of that religion in terms of belief and observance in the general population. Notably few texts are relevant specifically to the distinctive Scottish historical, cultural, religious and related institutional context than to the British, particularly English, context. Texts focussed on changes in British society are referred to only where clearly also relevant to Scottish society.

Studies of religion in society, particularly those which reference past societies in their explanation of the reasons for current patterns of belief and observance are predominantly undertaken from the perspective of secularisation theory. As a dominant theory in the field it is necessary to take account of the conclusions that are reached as a result of its application and assess the implications of such conclusions to an understanding of the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education, particularly as when a consideration of the content and approach of the curriculum is taken into account, secularisation theory would tend to present aspects of the curriculum over the period as being reactionary. It is essential therefore to also examine critiques of secularisation theory, as a refutation of the premises of the theory would radically alter the conclusions reached regarding the significance of the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education to the extent that the aspects of the curriculum over the period may be established as confirmatory in nature and purpose.

The chapter will reach conclusions as to the nature of the historical, cultural and religious context such that the significance of continuities and changes in the curriculum can be highlighted and the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education throughout the period determined.

Chapter Three will provide a further context within which to analyse the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral education. An examination of literature contemporary with the production of curriculum documents for Religious and Moral Education and which discusses those documents will provide a context to the curriculum documents that will make it possible to determine the meaning of the documents as contemporaries would have understood them. In point of fact, literature which discusses the curriculum documents for Religious and Moral Education is almost entirely contemporary with the production of the documents. It will be possible to identify some statements of the purpose of Religious Education as a curriculum area and to use these to assess whether there is continuity or

change evident in the purpose of the subject as understood by contemporaries. It will be possible to note descriptions of the nature of the curriculum in literature which is contemporary with the production of the curriculum documents and use these as evidence of continuity or change in the nature of the subject. The literature tends to focus on the practical usefulness of particular documents at particular moments in time, with respect to the method to be utilised in delivering the subject and where rationale is mentioned, the literature describes rather than analyses changes. In no sense does the literature represent a coherent discussion of developments over time or the broader implications of the documents and the developments they represent over time, which, rather, is the purpose of this study.

Chapter Four will accordingly present an analysis of the extant curriculum documentation of the period under consideration, interpreting the text of the documents in line with the method of analysis developed in Chapter One to provide a detailed understanding of the nature and purpose of Religious Education that each document sought to convey at the time of publication.

The continuities and changes in the nature and purpose of Religious Education over the period are identified, and the chapter will seek to establish whether it is legitimate to claim that the curriculum documents reflect after all a strict adherence to the historic, legislative requirements, with a consistency in their articulation of the purpose of the subject.

The chapter will determine furthermore whether it is accurate to state that, where there are changes identified, these are changes only in the means by which the longstanding purpose of the subject may be achieved, changes in the content of the subject and to the method of teaching the subject. Particularly, the chapter will seek to reveal how the statutory requirement to both teach Christianity and to reflect the Christian culture, traditions and values of Scottish society is addressed.

In this latter respect this study will analyse the conflation of Christian values with the values of Scottish society within the curriculum documents and the implication of an understanding of Christian values as specifically being those of Protestant Christianity. The chapter will consider this with regard to the purpose of a curriculum as being to either transmit or transform culture and values, and within the historical, cultural and religious context established in Chapter Two. Accordingly, the chapter will assess the requirement to reflect the Christian nature of Scottish culture resulting in the transmission of the cultural heritage and traditions of Protestant Christianity where a knowledge and understanding of the beliefs and practices of Protestant Christianity in particular, are taught to inform an evaluation of specifically Christian values which are regarded as both historic and contemporary. The chapter will also assess whether addressing changes in the belief patterns in society necessitates a change in the approach to the subject rather than to the purpose of Religious and Moral Education, which remains that particular Christian values be transmitted and upheld. Again from an understanding of the religious context established in Chapter Two, Chapter Four will likewise assess that because changes in belief patterns have diminished the role of Christian observance in the formation of values, and this has resulted in a transformation in the manner by which values are formed by some, whether Religious and Moral Education uses religion as a specific field of knowledge from which moral values can be established, and whether confirming Christian values, irrespective of matters of religious observance, is the purpose of Religious and Moral Education.

The significance of what is taught and why it is taught, with regard to culture, traditions and values, in relation to the cultural context is therefore analysed and explained to provide a clear understanding of the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education as it was and is intended to be understood.

Chapter 1 Methods of Historical Research

1.1 Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to detail the research questions and the method of research necessary to answer those questions. The research is an historical study and this chapter will explain why an historical method of research is the appropriate way to address the research questions. It will do so by explaining the purpose of an historical study and relating this to the purpose of this study, focussing on the relevance of the historical method to identifying continuities and changes in the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education over time and the importance of the method for addressing the significance of the cultural and historic context of the curriculum documents under examination. The chapter will examine what is meant by the historical method, considering the development of a rationale for applying the method and the different approaches to applying an historical method. In conclusion this chapter will explain why the chosen method of historical research is that of contextualising the documents and constructing a discourse in the interpretative tradition of document analysis.

1.2 Research questions

The intention is for the following research questions to form the basis of this study which will consider the nature of societal change during the period under consideration and its influence upon the rationale of Religious and Moral Education:

1. Throughout the period, what cultural heritage and traditions does the subject seek to transmit or transform?
2. What knowledge, understanding and values are being taught in the particular cultural context?

3. To what extent is there a continuum; in what ways has the nature and purpose of the subject remained the same?
4. To what extent is there change; in what ways has the nature and purpose of the subject changed?

The chronological context of this study is determined by the date of publication of the documentary evidence on which the study will focus, commencing with the publication of the first government survey into the provision of Religious Education in non-denominational schools.

1.3 The reason for applying methods of historical research to the study

1.3.1 The purpose of an historical study

J.R. Seeley noted that an historical study is an approach to understanding contemporary situations, one which,

> sheds at once upon the political world, the world of states, nationalities, parliaments, armies, parties, and interests, an illumination like that which natural science sheds upon the world of physical and vital forces. (Lambert and Schofield, 2004, p19)

An historical study, in other words, has a deeply utilitarian function in explaining why cultures, societies, institutions, nations and individuals are the way they currently are and is the means by which it is possible to assess pronouncements made about them in their contemporary setting with the same validity with which theories in natural science are tested.

According to Cannadine (2001) the purpose of an historical study is to expose the complexity and contingency of human affairs and the range and variety of human experience. An historical study promotes scepticism, and suspicion of simplistic analysis and explanation, and enables a sense of proportion, perspective, reflectiveness, and breadth of view

(Cannadine, 2001, p1). It is the antidote to what he refers to as 'temporal parochialism' which assumes that the only time is now and to 'geographical parochialism' which assumes the only place is here (Cannadine, 2001, p1), and as such historical analysis combats the tendency to accept policies, theories and practices from the past and present them uncritically and divorced from their historical context, as highlighted by Freathy and Parker (2010), and therefore combats the tendency to take present understandings for granted, and whilst historical inquiry has been neglected recently as a method in educational studies and educational research, and within Religious Education in particular, it is however a vital approach in expanding any understanding of a contemporary situation by drawing attention to broader, longer-term and philosophical issues that provide context.

This is in accord with E.H.Carr's pronouncement in 1961 that it was the function of history both:

> to enable man to understand the society of the past and to increase his mastery over the society of the present. (Kenyon, 1993, p294).

As noted by McCulloch (2003b) criticisms made in the Twentieth Century of the failures of the present education system encouraged attempts to find the causes of contemporary problems in the past. The growing influence of social history and social scientific theory during the late twentieth century at different times highlighted the importance of social class and gender inequalities, cultural differences and economic pressures in explaining historical change in education, with the problems and failures of education in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries being increasingly well recognised since the 1960s as the source of contemporary problems (McCulloch, 2003b, p148). Wickham and Roper (2002) would concur, noting the dominance of social history in the 1960s and 1970s and cultural history in the 1980s and that as the emphasis of historical research in addressing contemporary issues

has changed over the years, so methodology has developed accordingly (Wickham and Roper, 2002, p5).

1.3.2 Identifying continuity and change in the content of the curriculum over time

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the content of the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education and to make explicit the reasons for the inclusion of the particular content, over a period of time extending from the early 1970s to the present. Examining the content of the curriculum over time will identify changes to, and continuity in, the Religious and Moral Education curriculum, which indicates that it is appropriate to apply historical methods to the study of the subject. It is indeed only possible to identify elements of the curriculum that change and elements that remain the same by comparison of the curriculum at different points in time over a period of time. A comparative process of this kind is a key method of historical research.

1.3.3 Identifying continuity and change in the cultural heritage and traditions within the curriculum over time

Education incorporates and transmits cultural heritage and traditions as a means to develop knowledge, understanding and values from one generation to the next (McCulloch 2005, p4). As such, education is eminently suited to historical analysis as a means of identifying the culture and traditions of any one period and determining their presence or absence in another, and as a means of identifying a new cultural development. Likewise, Tosh (2010) states that history is an inventory of alternatives and that only by being able to distinguish between what is enduring and what is transient, only by knowing the extent to which actions and thoughts are conditioned by the heritage of the past, can effective decisions be made in the present (Tosh 2010, pp33-35).

1.3.4 Identifying continuity and change in the cultural context in which the curriculum is taught over time

A curriculum may either attempt to transmit the cultural context in which it is taught, consciously or indeed unconsciously, or it may in fact attempt to transform the cultural context in which it is taught, and as such the fact that the context in which that takes place is also constantly changing makes it important to recognise the significance of the historical dimension to any study (Freathy and Parker, pp229-230). It is necessary to understand the nature of the cultural context at particular points in time, over a period, to determine whether there is an attempt to promote or inhibit any change in that culture, and historical analysis is the means by which that can be achieved.

Jordanova (2010) notes that the purpose of an historical study is to engage with the history of a particular group identity as a means of constructing a group identity in the present (Jordanova, 2010, p17). Referring to 'constructing', rather than explaining identity, Jordanova emphasises the need to understand the attitudes of a society at particular periods of time as these attitudes ultimately shape contemporary identity, and to do so by studying direct testimony, a key component in an historical approach (Jordanova, 2010, p17).

This moves the emphasis in the purpose of an historical study from one of providing access to an understanding of the present through a study of the past and the development of a historical narrative, to one of active involvement in shaping the present.

1.3.5 Summary

An historical inquiry therefore provides a context within which to understand the present; it also generates the capacity to understand issues which may arise in the future by allowing them to be interpreted in the light of previous events. This notion allows historians to claim

that the past has an explanatory power relative to the present; it allows political and social policy decisions to be based on an understanding of what happened previously and why. It allows history to be utilised in the formation of identity: personal, social, political, national (Somekawa, 1988, p150). The contemporary situation owes its character to the way in which it has developed out of past circumstances and mentalities. It allows a narrative to be constructed that explains why we are who we are, explaining which changes to society and its structures, or which events, or which individuals have influenced the present (Somekawa, 1988, p150). An historical analysis can attempt to demonstrate how a range of factors in a specific spatial, temporal and socio-cultural context challenged and created educational policy, theory and practice (Freathy and Parker, 2010, p233). For example, identifying the social, cultural, political and economic factors which influenced the process of curriculum development aids an understanding of the origins of contemporary issues and problems and an historical analysis can prevent the past being uncritically co-opted in defence of new policy directions (Freathy and Parker, 2010, p234).

Historians may offer a critique of the sources selected by their fellows, the emphasis they place on them in determining their view of their significance, and the means by which they are characterised, (Somekawa, 1988, p153) and implicit in the critique is the understanding that selecting and interpreting sources in respect of their significance to an historical study is an objective activity, one in which many historians may engage to cover many interpretations and by an accumulative process approach the reality of the causes of an event or process of change.

This study therefore seeks to explain the significance of the content of the current curriculum by contextualising continuities and changes within a study of societal change

1.4 Addressing criticisms of the rationale for applying methods of historical research to the study

A contrasting view regarding the use to which an historical analysis may legitimately be put is that of Geoffrey Elton. Elton argued that it was wrong to engage in an historical study with the preoccupations of the present day in the forefront of one's mind, there being sufficient unconscious distortion without adding conscious distortion (Kenyon, 1993, p296) and as Tosh (2010) points out by citing Francesco Guicciardini's rebuke of the premise of Machiavelli's 'The Prince', for any comparison between a past society and a present one to be valid the conditions would need to be identical and to compare societies with different qualities is as much out of order as it would be to expect a jackass to race like a horse (Tosh, 2010, p38).

Additionally, any consideration of what is significant about the past as it relates to the present is determined by the values of the individual historian, the values of the institution in which the historian practices and the values of the society in which the institution is located. According to Fulbrook (2002) political considerations directly or indirectly affect the questions posed in historical inquiry, the framework of inquiry and the methodology through which explanations are sought and interpretations made which is why history must be a collective endeavour. Different conceptual frameworks lead to different explanations for events, so the results of enquiries in different frameworks must be combined or considered in parallel (Fulbrook, 2002, p182).

Indeed, Jenkins asserts that, 'truth is dependent on somebody having the power to make it true' and that 'truth is a self-referencing figure of speech, incapable of accessing the phenomenal world: word and world, word and object, remain separate' (cited in Aldrich,

2003, p140). Moreover, history is a narrative discourse which is as much invented or imagined as found, making the duty to search after truth meaningless (Aldrich, 2003, p140).

However, as Collini (1999) would have it, historical studies do not in fact extend the frontiers of knowledge, excepting occasions when they unearth new sources (Collini, 1999, p238). Rather, historical studies nurture, animate, revise, and extend our understanding of the past and are a means by which each generation repossesses a cultural inheritance by fitting the past into a framework of other things we understand and articulate the past in reference to present concerns. (Collini, 1999, p238).

It is therefore a vital matter to justify the relative value of research by the careful consideration and articulation of the adopted paradigm within any historical inquiry.

1.4.1 The intention of this study to develop and apply an appropriate method of historical research

This study therefore seeks to explain the significance of the content of the current curriculum by contextualising continuities and changes over time within a study of societal changes over time and developing a method to do so which will enable an interpretation of curriculum material in a manner whereby authorial intent is validly reflected so that the purpose of the curriculum as it was intended is rediscovered. Particular content developed within a particular societal context can then be compared to content in a different social context, the significance, it is anticipated, being found in the continuities in the curriculum in the context of changes in society.

1.5 Methods of historical research

1.5.1 The importance of methods of historical research

As McCulloch (2003) points out there is a very large range of problems both ‘theoretical’ and ‘methodological’ that affect historical studies of education. The importance of an awareness of theory and methodology in an historical study are not optional extras but are integral to the study. Theory and methodology are best considered not as distinct or separate categories, but in their relations with each other (McCulloch, 2003, p129)

In his ‘The Sociological Imagination’, C.Wright Mills echoed this point, arguing that the historian cannot avoid interpretation and selection in seeking an understanding of the past and as such, ‘if historians have no ‘theory’, they may provide materials for the writing of history, but they cannot themselves write it. They can entertain but they cannot keep the record straight.’ That task now requires explicit attention to much more than ‘the facts’, although it appeared that even though historical studies are highly theoretical in their very nature, many historians displayed a ‘calm unawareness’ of this (McCulloch, 2003, p129). Accordingly, considering theory and method together a social researcher becomes, ‘a self-conscious thinker, a man [sic] at work and aware of the assumptions of whatever he is about...an intellectual craftsman’ (McCulloch, 2003, p129) with a sensitivity to the potential uses that different theories and methods have in enhancing an understanding of the educational past. (McCulloch, 2003, p130).

1.5.2 The application of methods of historical research to studies in education: using documents in preference to generating data

The application of theory to historical problems has however sometimes been undiscriminating and ultimately unhelpful (McCulloch, 2003, p130). Noted by Joyce Goodman, it is therefore necessary to engage with theory ‘through a critical and sceptical lens’ rather than, as she puts it, unquestioningly applying it, ‘as a pre-given framework for historical analysis’ (McCulloch, 2003, p131).

Prior to the 1960s, historical methods had enjoyed a position alongside philosophy, psychology and sociology in educational studies but this was eclipsed by an instrumental view of educational research (Freathy and Parker, 2010, p231). Social scientists and educational researchers operating under this instrumental model commonly produce data in the form of text for their own purpose through interviews, questionnaires, observation or the generation of statistical evidence, and less use is commonly made of specifically documentary evidence (McCulloch, 2005, p4). The historical method is by contrast predominantly associated with document analysis: the study of documents produced by others. Accordingly, Freathy and Parker (2010) point out that historical research in education, in contrast to the view of Jackson (2004, cited in Freathy and Parker, 2010), is an empirical exercise, even if it may differ in form from that more usually employed in educational and social research.

1.5.3 Historical method as an analytical process rather than a narrative survey

Freathy and Parker (2010) further note that historical method is not the same as an historical survey, which has been the predominant approach to placing developments in Religious Education in context. These surveys present an unchallenged narrative; a descriptive, synoptic overview rather than a critical analysis. Indeed, according to Richardson (1999), the tradition of uncritical general surveys of educational development generated by history specialists in the education departments during the twenty years after 1945 has made it inevitable that doubt would be cast on the intellectual rigour of historical studies in general (Richardson, 1999, p11).

This is blamed on a tendency to ignore primary source material – by which is meant curriculum documentation - often due to its inaccessibility. Citing McMahon (1996), Richardson (1999) used the example of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education

Society (ANZHES) formed in 1970 to support educationists, to note that those undertaking historical studies 'lacked suitable reference materials, texts and methodologies' (Richardson, 1999b, p129).

Instead, the historical method ought to ground itself in the historiographical literature and utilise a wide range of primary sources – by which is meant a range of contemporaneous curriculum documentation - in order to challenge assertions, generalisations and mythologies (Freathy and Parker, 2010, p236). Otherwise, 'torn from its context of general historical change, the history of school systems becomes a chronicle almost devoid of meaning' (Richardson, 1999, p13).

This study will collect documentary evidence from selected curriculum documents produced across the period in question and consider the evidence in the light of observations made in the literature which is contemporary with each document, and the meaning contemporaries would have ascribed to them, ensuring an analysis rather than a survey results from the examination.

1.5.4 Development of methods of historical research

Historiography though, has itself been conceived differently over time. Although, according to Richardson (1999b), the history of education has developed an increasingly specialist subject-matter and authorship, there is nevertheless an, 'eclecticism of method and theory', in historical writing more widely which is equally reflected in historical studies of education (Richardson, 1999b, p136). Since the 1980s, there has been a move away from a search for causation, often via quantification, towards anthropology and studies which centre on social ascription of meaning, both individual and collective (Richardson, 2007, p570). History, if no longer seen as the accumulation of a steadily growing stock of knowledge, because it is hermeneutic in character, is in the post-modern sense, subject to a sociology of knowledge

(Richardson, 2007, p577). Sources of whatever form are regarded as ‘signs’; and the historian undertakes ‘meaning-making’ in which ‘atomistic signs and sign configurations are being construed into more or less coherent texts’, a method described as ‘illustrative of modes and occasions of engagement with signifying material’ (Richardson, 2007, p577). Indeed, Richardson (2007) points to a survey by the UK History of Education Society showing that by 1997 there were a wide range of ‘theoretical perspectives and critiques’, along with a diversity of ‘methods, methodologies and episyemologies’ (Richardson, 2007, p575) and that since the mid-1990s the field has embarked on the biggest reappraisal of its academic methods and institutional aims since the early 1960s (Richardson, 2007, p576).

1.5.5 Contextualisation as a method of historical research

Of course, the author of an historical study seeking to understand in context any particular event occurring within a particular culture, is presented with the problem of not being a member of the society in which the event took place and therefore with the problem of not being able to directly understand the significance which a particular culture gives to any event. Kluckhohn described culture as the total way of life of a people; the social legacy that the individual acquires from his group; the way of thinking, feeling and believing that acts as a mechanism for the normative regulation of behaviour and may be seen as a set of techniques for adjusting to the external environment and other men, being a store house of learned behaviour allowing standardised responses to recurrent problems (cited in Geetz, 1973, p4). It is necessary to understand the cultural context in order to understand the significance of the purpose of the curriculum for Religious Education.

Darnton considers that there are particular common events in the history of a people that, precisely because they have a meaning which is difficult to understand, ought to be the focus of study as a means of understanding the entirety of the culture in which they occur. If it is

possible to understand the meaning of, for example, a ritual act in context then it is possible to extrapolate to an understanding of the culture in which that ritual act takes place (Darnton, 2009, p78). The approach by which this may be attempted is essentially that of anthropology, whereby the investigator begins with the study of an incomprehensible rite or text or act and attempts to find the meaning of the object of study within a social context by gaining a 'native' understanding of the object. Culture is a symbolic world with shared symbols and can be understood if the significance of symbols can be understood (Chartier, 1975, p683). Any ritual follows a set of rules representing the shared knowledge of the culture and as a shared event acts as a 'social glue' (Rubin, 2002, p86). As such it is not necessary to discover how a particular individual perceives events but the shared conventions by which individuals perceive events (Biernacki, 2005, p230). Therefore, to describe a culture is to describe a set of systematic rules whose meaning is public because culture itself is public, as in the example from Gilbert Ryle of the hierarchy of meaning that may be attached to a wink, a hierarchy which is available for scrutiny in public discourse (Geertz, 1973, p11).

The process is described by Geertz as, 'Thick Description', the act of examining an 'ethnographic miniature' and extrapolating to a 'culturescape of the nation' 'or the civilisation' (Burke, 2005, p116). It is described by Burke as the move away from the social history of culture to the cultural history of society wherein historical anthropological approaches regard text as synonymous with culture, which is a problematic conception (Burke, 2005, p114). The texts studied are the product of the society in which they are created and as such reflect society. To understand the society is to understand the text.

In a History of Education Society editorial in 2001, it was considered that 'the net orthodoxy is to demand new ways of production and new modes of report' (Richardson, 2007, p577) and in 2005, Peim (cited in Richardson, 2007) noted that while work of this kind made no claim, 'to a new mode or model of history', but rather, 'to positively supplement other kinds

of historical evidence', and that historical judgements about 'what matters' had continued importance, nonetheless he came to what Richardson (2007) regards as the postmodern conclusion that, 'history cannot be innocent of the sociology of knowledge' because it is saturated in myth (Richardson, 2007, p577). In accordance with what Peim (cited in Richardson, 2007) called the 'visual turn' in educational historiography, historical studies must necessarily be interdisciplinary 'beyond the purely historical' and 'step beyond the traditional boundaries' of the discipline (Richardson, 2007, p579).

Despite this, most historians, according to Aldrich (2003) still interpret their task as being to record and interpret events as fully and as accurately as possible (Aldrich, 2003, p140). In the view of Peter Laslett (1987), it is a duty of an historical study to search after the truth to the utmost capacity, recognizing that it may be impossible to avoid some degree of bias but doing all that can be done to avoid it (Aldrich, 2003, p133). Historians, Aldrich (2003) states, know that there were realities in the past for they were once the realities of the present and the realities of the past are accessed mainly through historical evidence: primary and secondary sources (Aldrich, 2003, p140). 'Historians' relative success in the search for truth is confirmed by a close correspondence between historical accounts and historical facts based on evidence, and by consensus among historians when such correspondence is widely recognised' (Aldrich, 2003, p140).

However, as Aldrich (2003) concedes, 'most historians would acknowledge that their work is of a hypothetical or tentative nature, and few are unaware of the difficulties of the task'. Aldrich notes Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob as 'practical realists who accept the tentativeness and imperfections of historians' accounts', a realism which does not however cause them to abandon the aim for accuracy and completeness or to cease to judge historical studies on the basis of those criteria. (Aldrich, 2003, p140).

Similarly, according to Fulbrook (2002), there is a widespread view of 'history' as a concept and as a practice (Fulbrook, 2002, p18).

> ''History' is what happened in the past; it is what really happened in the past. 'History' is the practice of writing about what really happened in the past; it is the strategy of reading and interpreting a body of sources (or texts) which speak to the context in which they were produced and disseminated, and explaining their significance on the printed page' (Fox-Genouese, cited in, Jenkins 1998, p84),

1.5.6 Constructing a discourse as a method of historical research

Setting the parameters of an historical study though, is not a value-neutral activity, as objective is here understood. It is only relative to any question posed that the materials to be considered evidence for answering the question may be selected (Eley, 2005, p43) and the nature of the question is governed by the motivations of the historian posing the question. Those motivations may in turn be seen as derived from the particular setting in which the historian is operating, whether intellectual, social or institutional: the questions posed are a component in a discourse within a given cultural condition (episteme) as Foucault would see it (Brown, 2005, p59). What is meaningful to the historian is determined by what is meaningful in the temporal setting which constitutes the historian. The historian is the product of the experience of and the influences of the present. As such the historian's work is a constructed text (Fulbrook, 2002, p19) firmly rooted in the present in the same way that the historian is a construct firmly rooted in the present. Historical studies reconstruct the past in ways influenced by present concerns and by educationalists who invoke the past in order to apply its lessons to present concerns (Aldrich, 2003, p133). The act of reconstruction that the historian undertakes tells us about the standpoint of the historian in relation to contemporary issues. The act of construction is an engagement of the present with itself. Therefore

historical understanding is located in the particular relationship between the historian and the past (Armstrong, 2003, p202). Collingwood (1961, cited in Armstrong 2003, p202) argued that historical studies are a re-enactment of the present in the past where the values of the present are inextricably bound up with the way we understand the past.

The questions posed thus seek to relate the past to the present rather than to relate the past, which is an impossibility. The past is beyond retrieval and is not synonymous with 'history' which is an intellectual process (Eley, 2005, p43) by which the material remains of the past are related to the present. The present (and present discourse) soon naturally becomes the past and is itself ultimately interpreted within new parameters. There is therefore a continual process of construction as the participants in one discourse examine a previous discourse of a previous discourse. The historical text itself constitutes evidence of continuing reconstruction of past by present. Historical writing is in this sense concerned with subjectivities and embodies the representation of partial perspectives (Armstrong, 2003, p202)

Materials to be considered evidence for answering questions are thus made into evidence by that constructive process: they exist as objects but only become evidence as they are constituted as such by the historical perspective imposed upon them (Somekawa, 1988, p151-153), by the questions they are selected to answer. There is no 'truth' revealed by a source of evidence, only a relationship to the questions posed which themselves relate to the present and the perceived significance of the past to that present.

Armstrong (2003) notes that such a challenge to the positivistic view of history as a chronicle of events may be considered an 'idealist' conception of history where empirical reality can only have meaning through its existence and representation in the present and where reconstruction of the past is not so much a fabrication of some objective reality that could be

authentically reproduced but is rather about the construction of a new understanding of ourselves (Armstrong, 2003, p203).

The content analysis inherent in positivism in contrast determines an objective, systematic approach and considers content to be manifest, thus considering surface meaning alone. The study of documents provides an objective means by which inferences relating to cause and effect may be drawn (Jupp & Norris, 1993, p38). There is no analysis of the differential power, influence and ideologies of the groups that the documents represent in terms of their production (McCulloch, 2005, p46). There is no consideration of the deeper meaning revealed in the language and structure of a document which can reveal the purpose behind its production. The meaning and consequent significance of the documents are not determined as they relate to the context in which they were written.

However, considering texts relative to the educational and social context in which they exist is a means by which the significance of statements contained in them is to be understood, especially if they represent a reactionary response to changes in society or an attempt to form culture.

This recognises that historical studies construct interpretations and it is these interpretations rather than data or 'facts' about the world that frame an understanding of the past, acknowledging historical studies as fundamentally theoretical, where meaning is constructed through historians' explanations, constructions and categorisations, developing and applying categories of analysis through which an understanding of the world is ordered arising from the interests of the present within which historian is situated (Armstrong, 2003, p203).

As such, interpretation of source evidence and the writing of that interpretation as 'history' must take account of the same notion of construction. Documentary evidence especially must be viewed as a construct of influences and cannot simply be considered as a text the meaning

of which can be understood solely by knowledge of the immediate conditions and context of authorship; such knowledge, if such it may be termed, is itself derived from an interpretation of other evidential material, which has only become evidence by the act of questioning it in a manner determined by the historian, and will itself be subject to reinterpretation as other questions are posed, as determined by other agendas. Thus authors should not be simply regarded as entities which have experiences in a particular context which cause certain outcomes or result in certain viewpoints; the interpretation of the context is debatable and thus so too are conclusions drawn concerning authorial intention. Authors should be seen as constituted by their experience, but the nature and significance of that experience must be gleaned from an interpretation of their use of language and what it signifies, recognising that such interpretation will change according to readership over time and that as such the construction of historical fact from texts is problematic (Green, 1999, p299).

A work of 'history' must therefore acknowledge that it is by definition not an objective study of the past but one of a plethora of possible interpretations which relate the past to the present in a manner determined by the present. There is no possibility therefore of a correct and immutable interpretation. The interests and goals of one interpretation can replace and dislodge the interests and goals of another. There is no neutral social or political position from which to view events. The value of an historical study is judged by the integrity and persuasiveness of its argument (Somekawa, 1988, p154); it should be judged on how convincing it is at selecting and interpreting evidence to support an explicitly stated agenda. An historical study is evaluated by how successful it is at answering the questions it poses within and because of its own temporal position. Events must be located within a variety of contexts and perspectives, a series of contexts within which to locate changes and continuities in education (Aldrich, 2003, p137).

Understood as an issue about sources and the technicalities of historical method, an historical study can engage with the past in ways that legitimise and reify certain perspectives and voices as well as in ways that probe and critique the authority of those voices, and the writing of history might be understood in terms of a contested struggle for legitimacy (Armstrong, 2003, p201). The method that a particular researcher will adopt and the nature of the conclusions that will be accordingly drawn will therefore be determined by the paradigm within which documents and the mechanism for their analysis are deemed to exist by that researcher. There is a theory-method interchange whereby research questions are underpinned by paradigms concerning the nature of the social order and how it can be explained: the theory prescribes how problems to be researched may be conceptualised and generates the particular interpretation of researched information (Jupp & Norris, 1993, p39).

1.6 The process of analysing documents as a method of historical research

Where social and educational research, and indeed historical research, makes use of documentary sources as primary source material, the analysis of documents is conducted according to well-established rules discussed in terms of authenticity, reliability, meaning and theorisation (McCulloch, 2005, p41). Grummitt (2011) acknowledges that there are rules for analysing historical material and legitimising the conclusions drawn from evidence, even if these may be challenged (Grummitt, 2011, p1). There are accepted rules of logic and evidence to distinguish between fact and fiction, between what can be established and what cannot (Hobsbaum, 2002, p14).

In order to make judgements relating to the quality and consequent usefulness of information derived from a document it is first necessary to be fully cognisant of the origin of the document in question. This concerns the authorship of the document; the place, date and circumstances of writing and production; and the degree of completeness of the particular

version of the document. It is necessary to consider these concerns in determining the reliability of the document in relation to the conclusions being drawn from an analysis of it; the reliability of the document in terms of its representativeness of the issues it highlights and the attitudes it presents must be established. Given any difficulty in the availability of documents pertinent to a particular inquiry, the representativeness and potential to generalise from the available documents must be considered. The particular bias or biases of the document must be identified and fully comprehended. Such understanding will allow measured and appropriate conclusions to be drawn from document analysis (McCulloch, 2005, p44).

McCulloch (2005) suggests that it is common to attempt to resolve issues of reliability and bias by collating a wide range of documents and types of documents that contain a wide range of viewpoints and interests, and that by examining all the documents that have a bearing on the issue under investigation, inaccuracies and distortions in particular sources are likely to be revealed and the truth of the matter better discerned (McCulloch, 2005, p44).

McCulloch points out that even in its own terms such an approach does not necessarily result in a clear insight into the truth of a situation. Atypical viewpoints are not necessarily 'incorrect' and may clearly be of significance in an enquiry which seeks to understand a social phenomenon from the viewpoint of contemporaries. Moreover, this whole approach is the result of assumptions made by historians that themselves exemplify a lack of epistemological discussion in the field; there is a concept of truth and the possibility of revealing such truth implicit in such an approach: a positivist paradigm (McCulloch, 2005, p44).

There is consequently a question as to how legitimate it is to use a document as an object the analysis of which may explain a practice. A text may be regarded as an object which stands

between the observer of an event and the event itself (Chartier, 2005, p688). Different people in fact view and understand the same event or practice differently and any document produced by them is therefore their construction of reality (Burke, 2005, p75). Any analysis of it is no more definitive than a possible interpretation. Culture cannot necessarily be regarded as a set of rules understood and subscribed to by all. At best, it is a set of rules understood by some and at a limited scale from which extrapolation is problematic. And it is necessary to understand how the individual perceives events. As Wittgenstein put it, 'one human being can be a complete enigma to another. We learn this when we come into a strange country with entirely strange traditions and, what is more, even given a mastery of the country's language. We do not understand the people (And not because of not knowing what they are saying to themselves)' (Geertz, 1973, p13).

In response, the interpretative tradition of document analysis deriving from theories of symbolic interactionism and from ethnomethodology regards documents as social constructions by particular individuals at particular times and subject to differing interpretations by differing audiences with differing effects (McCulloch, 2005, p46). The social and institutional settings in which documents were produced affect the meaning of the documents and an analysis of the discourse inherent in a document considers where, by whom, and when the text was produced to gauge its meaning. Critical analysis would relate such discourse to the social structure and ideology within which it exists and view a document as a mechanism through which power relations are constituted and exercised (McCulloch, 2005, pp39-42).

In social research, documents are regarded as being close to speech as a source of information in that like speech, documents contain layers of meaning which may only be understood in context (Hodder, 2000, p703). From an interpretative perspective the meaning of a document may lie not in the text itself as much as in the writing and the reading of it (Hodder, 2000,

p704). Unlike speech, a document is a concrete text, which according to Ricoeur (1971, cited Hodder, 2000) can be understood only as an artefact produced under certain conditions within specific social and ideological systems (Hodder, 2000, p704). Documents are produced on the basis of certain ideas, theories or commonly accepted principles which are specific to particular social, historical and administrative conditions and structures (Punch, 2009, p200). A document must be understood in the context of the conditions under which it was produced and read (Hodder, 2000, p704).

The text of a document, if it survives beyond the immediate period of its production, can be read at different times and in different contexts and as such can acquire new meanings over time. The meaning of a text can change over time and place through the process of interpretation which takes place and which is itself embedded in a particular social context (Hodder, 2000, p704). It is possible to claim that there is no 'true' meaning of a text outside of the specific historic context of its production. The authority of a document may be undermined by the reading and interpretation of the text in new contexts and the consequent application of new meaning. Sol Cohen (1999, cited McCulloch, 2005) argues that the meaning of policy documents in education is determined by the histories, experiences, values, vested interests and purposes of the practitioners who read them; policy writers do not control the meaning of the text over time (McCulloch, 2005, p45). Documents studied in isolation from their social context are deprived of their real meaning; an understanding of the context of production affects the interpretation of the document (Punch, 2009, p201).

In determining the meaning and purpose of a document, it is necessary to know not just who produced a document, but also what the writer takes for granted about the reader's context and position and what the intended readership of the document would have been expected to know in order to make sense of the document (Punch, 2009, p201). To Armstrong (2003), it is the voices of those who have made policy through government committees and reports and

of those professionals who have implemented and sometimes contested these policies that tend to dominate (Armstrong, 2003, p201). Documents are a discourse in that they exist within a framework or perspective where ideas are formulated as is the case with everything people do and is the case with the development of ideologies (Punch, 2009, p195). Discourse takes place within a set of ideas, statements or knowledge that dominate among particular groups at particular times and includes ways of approaching, categorising and reacting to the social world (Punch, 2009, p195). The style and rhetorical devices used in a document will originate from within this set of ideas with a view to shaping the discourse in some way, and as such the text must be deconstructed to identify the purpose of the document. Text may be seen as always and necessarily a literary representation constructed through rhetorical strategies with those strategies themselves contributing to discourses (Armstrong, 2003, p212).

1.7 Contextualising the documents and constructing a discourse in the interpretative tradition of document analysis as the adopted method of historical research

This study will pay careful attention to the reasons for the production of each document under consideration as, significantly, this relates to the purposes and aims of Religious and Moral Education that the documents seek to promote. The representativeness of the views put forward in the documents will be considered through an examination of the literature contemporary to them which discusses the same issues, which will cover the entirety of documentary evidence and literature with a bearing on the issues under investigation.

The language used in the text of a document can then be examined and deconstructed to reveal underlying symbolic structures and patterns which, with consideration of the context, reveal meaning (McCulloch, 2005, p46) with certain caveats and an understanding that what

is being undertaken is an interpretation from a particular perspective and the methodological considerations which that brings. There will be an emphasis on the nature of the document itself in terms of its language and form in order to determine its meaning (McCulloch, 2005, p45). This is a semiotic approach which seeks to understand language and symbols or images in the text of a document and considers the form and organisation of a document. The mechanisms by which meaning is produced, the linguistic structures and categories, will be analysed and exposed as the underlying structure from which meaning is derived, and deconstructed to determine that meaning (Punch, 2009, p199).

To make this possible the researcher, according to Manwick (1981, cited McCulloch, 2005), must understand the document as contemporaries would have and must therefore be able to recognise technical phrases, esoteric allusions and references to individuals and institutions, and be aware of changing usages of particular words and terms (McCulloch, 2005, p45).

Central to historical discourse analysis, in this respect, are the concepts of historical conjuncture and normalisation. Discourse is produced by participants in a discourse both consciously and unconsciously in practices and written contributions (Jóhannesson, 2010, p251). The words and ideas, and behaviour and practices, which emerge as themes in discourse, form patterns which are shaped and reshaped in the social, and indeed political, atmosphere of both past and present which determines what it is appropriate or safe to say at a particular moment and in a particular context (Jóhannesson, 2010, p251). Normalisation is a process whereby those involved in a discourse adjust to a prevalent trend, often the policy direction of government and the exposition of that policy, framing their contributions to the discourse in the language of the prevalent trend and adopting the assumptions inherent in that trend, whether consciously or otherwise. In this way practitioners in education accept certain ideas and practices as ‘professional truth’ and contribute to silencing other ideas (Jóhannesson, 2010, p253). It is necessary to understand the interaction between social and

political conditions, and the ideas and practices of that moment, to examine the process by which certain ideas and practices gain legitimacy over others and become normalised at that moment (Jóhannesson, 2010, p253). This is historical conjuncture. Document analysis in this vein can reveal the reasoning behind ideas about, and practices within, education.

An historical inquiry may therefore be conducted through a process of document analysis where it is considered that the documents are evidence of a discourse concerning the issue under investigation; and where it is understood that it is possible to determine the meaning of the documents by examining the language and structure of the text; and where the historic context of the documents and their production is understood. It is intended to adopt this interpretative stance to historical discourse analysis in the present study. This is to use contextualisation as a method of historical research, considering the content of the documents in relation to the society in which they were produced, and to use the interpretative tradition of document analysis as a method of historical research to establish the meaning of documents as contemporaries would have understood them to reveal the reasoning behind the content of the curriculum, which in turn is to use the construction of a discourse as a method of historical research.

Starting from the point of a contextual understanding, and an appreciation of some of the themes of the discourse concerning the issue under investigation, it is possible to analyse the documents without a pre-specified coding framework and allow the ways of thinking about and working with the material to emerge as each document is analysed in turn, especially where the documents are drawn from a wide historic spectrum. In this way expected themes are identified and evidence for them collected while new themes can be identified or unexpected relationships between themes can be identified (Jóhannesson, 2010, p236). It is then possible for the researcher to note the silences in the texts, the absence of expected dialogue or discontinuation of argumentative discourse or the language of justification, or

indeed the sudden appearance of justification, which can indicate the nature of the legitimising principles of the discourse (Jóhannesson, 2010, p257).

The intention of this study is to approach the material using the research questions as a coding framework in the first instance to generate evidence relating to expected themes, but to simultaneously apply an open-coding approach to allow evidence to be gathered that may identify new themes within documents or new relationships between them: this is especially important in an historical study.

Historical discourse analysis results in a narrative developed by the researcher from the analysis that has been conducted and from previous research which itself forms part of that narrative and acts as a means of understanding historical conjuncture, and which may indeed suggest the documents that are selected for the purposes of the inquiry (Jóhannesson, 2010, p279), in this case the documents produced centrally by the Scottish Education Department and the Scottish Government. This study of those documents and the context in which they were produced will therefore represent part of a discourse concerning the conjuncture of the social conditions and the legitimising, or normalisation, of the particular expression of the purpose and aims of Religious and Moral Education evident in those documents.

1.8 Curriculum Documentation

The institutional aspect of curriculum formation within the Scottish education system suggests that the documents to be considered for documentary analysis in this comparative chronological study are those which were centrally produced:

- ‘Moral and Religious Education in Scottish Schools, Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland (1972)’ – hereafter referred to as ‘the Millar Report (1972)’;

- ‘Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education, Bulletin 1, A Curricular Approach to Religious Education (1978)’ – hereafter referred to as ‘SCCORE Bulletin 1’;
- ‘Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education, Bulletin 2, Curriculum Guidelines for Religious Education (1981)’ – hereafter referred to as ‘SCCORE Bulletin 2’;
- ‘Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland, National Guidelines, Religious and Moral Education 5-14 (1992)’ – hereafter referred to as ‘the 5-14 National Guidelines’;
- ‘Curriculum for Excellence, Religious and Moral Education in Non-Denominational Schools, Principles and Practice (2011)’;
- ‘Curriculum for Excellence, Religious and Moral Education in Non-Denominational Schools: Experiences and Outcomes (2011)’ – hereafter referred to as ‘Curriculum for Excellence (2011)’;
- ‘Curriculum for Excellence – Provision of Religious Observance in Schools (2011)’ – hereafter referred to as ‘Religious Observance (2011)’; alongside,
- ‘Curriculum Impact Review: Religious and Moral Education 3-18 (2014)’;
- Planning for Learning, Teaching and Assessment within RME (2014); and,
- Professional Learning Paper: Significant Aspects of Learning Assessing Progress and Achievement in Religious and Moral Education (2014).

1.9 Summary

Having established the relevance of the historical method to the study and articulated the particular method of historical research to be adopted, the curriculum documentation must be analysed from an understanding of the historic and cultural context within which it was produced. Before proceeding to an analysis of the documents it is therefore necessary to

explain that context. This will require an understanding of society and culture over the period under examination which must be derived from an assessment of the debate concerning the specific nature of change and continuity in society over the period, and specifically as regards the position, nature and significance of religion in Scotland. Further context will then be provided by an examination of the academic literature contemporary with the curriculum documentation and concerned with a discussion of that documentation.

Chapter 2 The position, nature and significance of religion in Scotland: the historical, cultural and religious context in the light of secularisation and secularisation theory.

2.1 Overview

Those who have determined the nature of the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education in Scottish schools during the period under consideration have done so in relation to the social and cultural nature of the society of which they are a part and the intellectual, social and cultural composition of the student body to whom the curriculum is addressed. Whether the curriculum is a response to societal change in a reactionary sense to preserve cultural heritage, traditions and values, or parallels changes in attitudes to that cultural heritage and associated traditions and values, it is necessary to examine the broader historical, cultural and religious context in which Religious Education takes place in order to determine the purpose of the subject over time. In this respect it is to be noted that there are fewer texts relevant to a discussion of the nature of the religious and cultural context in the specifically Scottish social sphere than there are texts focussed on British society, with the emphasis in fact being on English society. It is necessary to appreciate that the cultural, religious and related institutional context in Scotland is distinct to that elsewhere in the United Kingdom, for historical reasons which are beyond the scope of this study. Also, the study is not concerned with an assessment of the influence of English culture on Scottish society such as would be necessary to determine the significance of changes in the English context to Scottish society. Therefore texts which consider changes in the religious and cultural nature of British society are referred to only where such change is also clearly relevant to Scotland.

2.2 Why Secularisation Theory is relevant to this inquiry

Central to an understanding of the historical, cultural and religious context are the varying interpretations of the changing position, nature and significance of religion within that society over time. Such interpretations are typically approached from the perspective of theories of secularisation of society: attempts to explain the position, nature and significance of religion within society at any given point in time and to contextualise it as part of an historical trend.

The significance of the particular curriculum of religious education in force at a particular point in time is relative to the position, nature and significance of religion within society at the same point: an understanding of what the role of religion is, how it fulfils that role and how important that role is to the functioning of society provides the cultural context against which the curriculum must be judged.

It is therefore necessary to develop a standpoint on theories of secularisation themselves, concentrating on those presented by the major theorists in the field, and to consider whether the position, nature and significance of religion at any given point must indeed be regarded as part of an historical trend.

2.3 How Secularisation Theory relates to the study of religion in society

Secularisation theory has become established within studies of religion and society to the extent that it is considered as the perspective from which agendas are set, research questions asked, survey questions framed and data analysed (Woodhead, 2012, p3). It is the theoretical and analytical framework through which the social sciences have viewed the relationship between religion and modernity (Casanova 1994, cited by Clark 2012, p161) and understood as a process whereby the various institutional spheres of modern societies are differentiated, with increasing autonomy of the social spheres of state and law, education and welfare from the oversight of religious organisations and the influence of theology, secularisation is regarded as paradigmatic and a defining characteristic of the processes of modernisation

itself, and has been relatively uncontested in social sciences, especially in European sociology (Martin, 2007, p146), (Casanova, 2009, p1051).

Secularisation has been defined as a demonstrable historical process of societal transformation wherein institutional spheres of social activity such as government (the establishment and enforcement of law and the governance of economic interaction and public health measures and provision of welfare to dependant individuals) and areas of collective activity (such as science, art and entertainment) become explicitly separate from the influence of religious bodies (Casanova, 2009, p1050) but also as an abstract social process wherein religion loses power, popularity and plausibility (Bruce, 2014, p193) in society at large and is reduced to the private sphere in the modern world (Casanova, 2009, p1050) where there is a further redirection of religious impulses (Martin, 2007, p145). Secularisation as a state of being 'devoid of religion' does not however happen automatically as a result of a process of modernisation alone but needs to be mediated phenomenologically by some other particular historical experience. (Casanova, 2009, p1054) because, 'secularisation is what is to be expected when given conditions are replicated, except that history has 'many cunning alleyways'' (Martin, 2007, p145). As considered subsequently, it is plausible to contend that secularisation is a process that requires a social dislocation that undermines the institutional influence of religion leading to *both* a change in institutional spheres of activity *and* individual disassociation from religious beliefs and practices simultaneously and to see secularisation as an interaction between the two effects of dislocation *and* the result of it.

Within sociology, secularisation developed from a theory explaining historical change in European societies to become a descriptive term for general teleological and progressive human and societal development from the primitive 'sacred' to the modern 'secular' (Casanova, 2009, p1050). Consequently, 'secular' is a, 'central modern category used to construct, codify, grasp, and experience a realm or reality differentiated from 'the religious' '

(Casanova, 2009, p1049), that is to say that to be secular is to be non-religious (Bruce, 2014, p193). Secularism is though the promotion or defence of the condition of being non-religious (Bruce, 2014, p193).

As a highly charged, ideological concept (Berger, 1967, p106) as much as a master-narrative used to explain an array of social change over extended periods (Cox, 2003, p206) this complicates the study of religion in any given period by the need to relate any particular observation to a general trend and forcing a corresponding value-judgement in place of an objective observation.

Wilson (in Bruce, 1992) noted that secularisation has been taken for granted to the extent that serious attention to religion is dismissed with some amusement (Clark, 2012, p161) whilst Casonova (2009) clearly felt that the acceptance of the veracity of secularisation theory could in fact reach such a point of naively uncritical reflection that the theory could easily undermine itself (Casanova, 2009, p1054).

For secularisation to obtain a truly taken-for-granted position, it must be viewed actively as, 'the meaningful result of a quasi-rational process' where the development of modern unbelief is not simply a condition of the absence of belief or straightforward indifference, but is an historical condition wherein the irrationality of belief has been overcome (Casanova, 2009, p1054).

Secularisation is thus regarded as a process of change in the conditions of belief, as a process of intellectual growth in the individual and of progressive emancipation of the society and constitutes a critical acceptance that religious belief is unnatural (Casanova, 2009, p1054), a view often characterised as a transition from the darkness of unquestioning superstition to critical enlightenment of science (Martin, 2007, p140).

Theories of secularisation are consequently premised on the apparent need to relate what is deemed to be the observable decline in the social significance of religious institutions to a contested decline in the significance of religion to individuals, and to prove the latter by means of presenting changed forms of religious belief and expression as being less significant to individuals and less influential in society than the previous institutional forms of belief and expression, and as such challenge the legitimacy of holding a religious viewpoint in contemporary society (Cox, 2003, p204).

Indeed, the contention is that 'ordinary people' experience the condition of 'being secular', the condition of living 'as if God would not exist', to the extent that the contemporary world is conceived of as a secular one regardless of how widespread or otherwise contemporary people hold religious or theistic beliefs (Taylor, 2007, in Casanova, 2009, p1053).

Arguably therefore, the theory of secularisation as a process is inextricably linked to secularism as an ideology wherein secularist political theories presuppose religion to be either an irrational force or a non-rational form of discourse that should be banished from the democratic public sphere (Casanova, 2009, p1052), a defining characteristic of modern secular assumptions being that religion in the abstract produces certain predictable effects (Assad, 1993, in, Casanova, 2009, p1051) and those effects on society are as a whole negative: the 1998 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) public opinion survey for example demonstrated that an overwhelming majority of Europeans (two-thirds of the population of every Western European country) held the view that religion is 'intolerant' (Casanova, 2009, p1058).

As Casanova (2009) points out political secularism could regard religion as a moral good or ethical communitarian reservoir of human solidarity and not necessarily acknowledge the negative assumptions about religion contained within secularisation theory or even assume

the existence of any progressive historical development which will make religion increasingly irrelevant, but nonetheless does prefer to see religion contained within its own differentiated 'religious' sphere so that the secular public democratic sphere is free from religion (Casanova, 2009, p1057). Within that context the study of religion is premised on religion as having characteristics at odds with the values of the public democratic sphere; that is to say, that religion is non-rational, intolerant or illiberal (Casanova, 2009, p1057).

The function of secularism as a philosophy of history and as an ideology is therefore to turn secularisation which is often seen as a particular Western Christian historical process into a universal teleological process of human development from belief to unbelief, from primitive irrational religion to modern rational secular consciousness (Casanova, 2009, p1054). As a statecraft principle secularism is the implementation of a separation between religion and political authority for the sake of the neutrality of the state as a law-making and law-enforcing agent vis-á-vis each and all religions, for the sake of protecting the freedom of conscience of each individual or for the sake of facilitating equal access for all citizens whether religious or non-religious to democratic participation (Casanova, 2009, p1051) and may accordingly be regarded as a, 'functionalist requirement of modern differentiated societies' (Casanova, 2009, p1061). Accordingly, freedom of religion becomes a normative democratic principle in itself (Casanova, 2009, p1062), although free exercise of religious activity must not conflict with, or have exemption from, or primacy over, the democratically established secular law.

2.4 How the basic premise of Secularisation Theory is presented and challenged

However, the basic premise of secularisation theory that high rates of attendance at institutional forms of expression denotes a similarly high adherence to institutional forms of

belief, is questionable, as too is the premise that mass attendance is necessary to ensure the social significance of the institution and of the religion itself and that consequently falling attendance equates with a decline in social significance (Nash, 2004, p303). Secularisation theory insists on focussing on why people do not go to church (the Christian churches being the institutions attended by the majority of those holding religious beliefs in the geographical areas under consideration) in the present rather than examining why they did in the past (Morris, 2012, p212). Ignoring how the role of the church in society changed is to fail to consider whether the social significance of the church was maintained by the church performing similar functions in different ways. To assume that falling attendance meant the church ceased to influence everyday life on a practical level is not a logical step.

Wilson (1982) regarded this approach as an unresolved tension within sociology between taking a scientific stance towards religion and the urge to discredit religion (cited in Clark 2012, p163). The diffusion of the theory in sociological textbooks which may be regarded as representing an orthodoxy within the subject is held by some as evidence of the proposition of secularisation theory being as much about an aspiration to see a secularised society in being at the end of a process as about the provision of empirical analysis (Nash, 2004, p306).

It is notable that the evidence base for theories of secularisation concentrates on the work of sociologists rather than historians, when in purporting to demonstrate a fundamental change from an age of faith to an age of specifically secular indifference to religion the proposed historical phenomenon of secularisation necessitates historical analysis, particularly when reliant upon interpretations of the significance of religious belief and practice in the Middle Ages and the Nineteenth Century which are subject to revision (Clark, 2012, p164). Indeed, historians seeking to examine the interplay between the beliefs and the motivations of individual participants in historical events do not find their conclusions sitting logically within a homogenising process of secularisation over time (Nash, 2004, p304).

Moreover, when deploying statistics for declining church membership, or church attendance, the participation in religious practices such as baptism and marriage, enrolment in Sunday schools or involvement in Religious Education, to describe the historical phenomena of decline in religious observance, no parallel is drawn with contemporary historical phenomena of decline in other associational activity such as enrolment and participation in the activities of political parties, trades unions, sports clubs or cultural groups (Clark, 2012, p163), and ignores the way in which adherence to religious practices can be viewed by participants as cultural and traditional and concerned with identity rather than exclusively religious.

2.5 The significance of the historical development of Secularisation Theory on its validity as a theory.

The historical development of theories of secularisation themselves cannot be ignored when assessing the validity of those theories, especially if it is noted that modern discussion of secularisation dates its origins to the 1957 work of E.R. Wickham, 'Church and People in an Industrial City' and his 1964 work, 'Encounter with Modern Society' with its seminal observation that it was not so much that the churches of the Nineteenth Century had lost the working class as much as that, 'they had never had them', both works being based on the perceptions of Nineteenth-Century clergy themselves influenced by secularising narratives generated by an evangelical and revivalist doctrine of salvation (Morris, 2012, p198) which sought to provide a theological rationale for the revival of a self-styled moribund church suffering under the effects of sin, redefined in secular terms as a series of social abuses such as the vice of drink (Erdozain, 2011, cited by Morris, 2012, p205). The clergy of the Nineteenth Century whose aspirations for their church were not met saw an answer in the suggestion that the new world of commerce and industry with its revolutionary work patterns was to blame (Morris, 2012, p195). No sense of the degree of popular religion or the social reach of the church reaches the documents of the Nineteenth-Century clergy or their

Twentieth-Century commentators (Morris, 2012, p198). Morris (2012) argues that indeed the nature of Christianity is to generate a narrative of decline or secularisation as a means to justify a campaign of religious revival in a world where the Gospel has already been proclaimed (Morris, 2012, p207).

2.6 Multiple theories of secularisation outlined

Moreover, there is no singularly agreed upon theory of secularisation; instead there are multiple descriptions and explanations which coalesce only to a reasonable degree in theorising the nature of, and the causes of, a phenomenon of secularisation (Bruce, 2012, L133). Bruce (2002) characterises secularisation as a social condition wherein the social standing of religious roles and institutions declines resulting in a corresponding decline in the involvement of religious institutions as religious institutions in the functions of the state – secularisation as a differentiation of the secular sphere from religious institutions (Clark, 2012, p163) - with a parallel decline in popular engagement with religious beliefs and practices (Bruce, 2002, loc 157) – secularisation as the decline of religious beliefs and practices (Clark, 2012, p163) - the root cause being broader societal changes that disrupted the functioning of institutional religion. To David Martin (1978) this process of secularisation is a universal process, or would be if it occurred in multiple cultural contexts, and is likewise the consistent result of a particular combination of historical circumstances, thought to occur in different societies at different periods, instigated primarily by the phenomenon of industrialisation (Martin, 1978, p2). As Acquaviva (1979) explains, 'religion undergoes a profound crisis in industrial society', as social changes, 'bring about a decay in religiosity', such that 'the rise of urban civilisation and the collapse of traditional religion...are closely related movements' (quoted in Clark, 2012, p165). It is a process of transition away from reverence of the sacred as it exists within institutionalised practice and within the functioning

of religious institutions in society and within personal faith with secularisation being an emerging ideology devoted to ensuring the transition (Demerath, 2007,p3).

Problematically for this notion, the major disruption in church attendance in Britain occurred in the years following the First World War by which time the major migrations from the countryside to growing industrial centres had all but ceased and a new pattern of migration to suburbs and commuter belts begun (Clark, 2012, p169).

Others propose a secularisation of the consciousness of the individual, such that by being divested of a religious interpretation of both the natural and the social world, the totality of social and cultural life was affected and removed from the domination of religious institutions - as can be observed in the decline of religious content in art, philosophy and literature and the rise of a scientific perspective autonomous from religion (Berger, 1967, p107) - thus enabling the societal changes that Bruce (2002) cites as the cause of the phenomenon to come into being, rather than being the consequences of it. Bryan Wilson described this as the process whereby religious institutions, actions and consciousness lose their social significance (cited in Demereth, 2007, p3).

Variously, secularisation may be a matter of religious decline, or of change, or of displacement and be at the level of the individual, the institution, the community, the culture, separately or in causal connection, and whilst this is a long-term, linear, inevitable development, there may be necessary contingent factors and therefore also short-term regression or cycles of change (Demerath, 2007, p3).

2.7 The significance of changing patterns of church membership and association

The decline in the social significance of religious institutions is premised on the notion that a change in membership patterns marginalises the role of the institution in society as it ceases

to provide social services to a specifically local religious community, and in turn actual membership declines, as does the corresponding moral influence and political influence of the institution.

Accordingly, Bryan Wilson (Wilson, 1996, xiv) pointed to declines in church membership and church attendance as evidence of secularisation with secularisation defined as the decreasing social significance of religion, one element of which is the retreat of religion from public sphere (Bruce, 2011, p503) which in Scotland would be reflected in such developments as the removal of parish poor relief from the exercise of the churches and the provision of general education by the churches. It would be exacerbated by the fragmentation of the Church along sectarian lines during the Nineteenth Century and the subsequent disestablishment of the church in the Twentieth Century and reflected the notion that Britain has become 'one of most secular societies in the West' (Bruce and Glendinning, 2011, p506). That however would be to ignore the demonstrable formal role that the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church continued to play in state education from its inception, the presence of members of the church in arms of the state exercising welfare provisions and the lack of competition for influence amongst the churches which means that in no way can the simple fact of a change in the way the church exercised its role be seen as evidence of a decline in influence. The establishment of state education was after all the result of negotiation with the religious bodies providing the existing school system and based on a settlement acceptable to them which was certainly not non-religious and indeed included segregation along religious lines.

Undoubtedly a mobile population dispersed by industrialisation and changing patterns of employment would no longer see religious institutions as significant in terms of the direct provision of welfare and education, and numbers of church communities changing affiliations might restrict opportunities to join a church community, particularly where provision lagged

behind population growth (as established by Chalmers in industrial Glasgow, although the conclusion that irreligious practices were caused by a lack of churches and ministers rather presupposes a strictly adherent populace had existed previously). Chalmers believed that the godly parish of his native Fife could be transposed into the heartland of industrial Scotland and campaigned to establish the parish of St. John's in the crowded east end of Glasgow as a model for his social vision. He argued for the creation of new urban parishes which could continue to meet all the educational, welfare, spiritual and pastoral needs of the new urban masses in place of government provision of schools or poor relief. (Storrar, 1990, p41).

A decline in membership would however only result in a decline in moral influence and political influence if the institution lost the ability to be heard along with the ability to be listened to, a matter which would also relate to the significance of religion to individuals and to whether this declined.

Callum Brown concluded from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship which suggested that forty to sixty per cent of the adult population attended church on the 30th March, that church attendance was in fact 'historically high' in the mid-Nineteenth Century, and that church membership grew further through the second half of Nineteenth Century 'to reach peak in England and Wales in 1904' (Bruce, 2011, p543) with membership of the Church of Scotland, the largest denomination of Protestant Christianity in Scotland, reaching its peak in 1905 and remaining more or less constant with greater adherence during economic downturns and less during periods of economic growth - although he accepts that pre-war Britain did not necessarily see universal adherence to core tenets of Christian morality and dogma or regular attendance at church services (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p331) which lessens the significance of the fact of high attendance as such.

2.7.1 Association with Christianity during the 1940s

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's assertion in June 1940 that, 'The Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian Civilisation' (Robbins, 1993, p195) set the tone for identifying the British with the values of Christianity against the values of Nazism and Fascism. The remit of the Religious Division of the Ministry of Information was to impart 'a real conviction of the Christian contribution to our civilisation and of the essential anti-Christian character of Nazism' (Robbins, 1993, p195 note 4).). It was of course hoped that Christianity would give comfort to the anxious and bereaved and would strengthen waverers in the belief of the national cause (McLeod, 2007, p32). Lord Lloyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, considered a defence of 'Christian civilisation' to be an integral aspect of 'the British case' presented to the world. To him, pre-war failings of national policy in general had stemmed from a failure to bring before the British people the view that there was a national endeavour and that endeavour ought to be 'shaped and determined by the requirements of Christian morality' since 'we are still, I believe a Christian people'. Indeed, the European conception of freedom derived directly from Christianity. Hitler's actions against Poland were, 'not only an outrage against the public law of Europe, but an affront to every Christian conscience' (Robbins, 1993, p197). In 1940, the Bishop of St Albans Michael Furse noted how both Stalin and Hitler ensured that 'the faith' was properly taught. 'They take no chances; we do. They see to it that every generation as it comes along is taught 'the faith' and converted to it (if possible)... When shall we learn?' (Robbins, 1993, p201), asserting Christian values as British national values. The same year, Archbishop of York William Temple called for a national system of education which was definitely Christian and would produce, 'Christian children who in due course will become Christian parents' (McLeod, 2007, p32). In the late 1940s as the Soviet Union, atheist in ideology, exerted control over the territories of Eastern Europe occupied by the Red Army at the end of the war, Christianity was seen as integral to Western identity with the churches

expected to have a major voice in any public issue with a religious or moral dimension (McLeod, 2007, p33).

2.7.2 Post War Association with Christianity

It is questionable then whether as McLeod (2007) asserts that the end of the Second World War is marked in religious terms by a desire to return to 'normality' and that within that was a return to traditional Christian values and adherence to a particular Christian church (McLeod, 2007, p1) if indeed as Brown and Lynch (2012) assert, traditional religious conformity was in any case at its height while Christianity in fact represented the spirit of the age even if attendance at church was in decline (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p332). Brown and Lynch (2012) consider that following the Second World War, traditional, or pre-war, values were evident in government policy to encourage women to leave the workplace and to find their place in the domestic world, enabling demobbed soldiers to find work (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p331). McLeod (2007) wonders whether the collective trauma diminished the moral authority of Christianity as presented by the churches (McLeod, 2007,p1).

Brown (1997) demonstrates that in fact during the Second World War the government emphasis on working hard and playing hard, of encouraging light entertainment and any off-duty light-relief from the stress of war had a particular effect on the religious culture of Scotland, particularly the puritan culture of the highlands and islands (Brown, 1997, p162). This was particularly evident in the local plebiscites of 1946-7 which allowed the selling of alcohol where it had previously been outlawed (Brown, 1997, p162). Brown does however point out that highland society had not necessarily been always as wedded to temperance as the churches might like, with illegal production continually prevalent and emphasising a questionable piety with a quote from L. Beckwith in 1968 to the effect that the crofters were,

‘no more interested in the destiny of their souls than they were in the destiny of their poultry’ (Brown, 1997, p172).

If, as McLeod states, in the 1950s the great majority of people in all Western countries were at least nominal members of one of the Christian churches, the key word to McLeod is ‘nominal’ (McLeod, 2007, p1). If the major measured aspects of religiosity are affiliation, attendance and belief and if decline in these measures over the second half of the Twentieth Century is evidence supportive of a notion of secularisation (Crockett, 2006, p567) and if it is true that clergy still enjoyed high status and churches held considerable influence over the social mores and politics of the post-war period (McLeod, 2007, p1) the loss of even nominal members is significant as the willingness to be publically separate indicates the social acceptability of that status and the possibility of haemorrhage in membership although as McLeod (2007) notes, specific anti-clericalism over centuries did little ultimately to diminish the power of Christianity as even if one church lost out to another, collectively churches continued to exercise control over society and politics and membership was universal (McLeod, 2007, p1).

In any case, Christianity was in the 1950s the major influence on the world-view of the majority of people (McLeod, 2007, p20), providing the means to publically articulate values. As an example of the total influence of the churches, in 1961, ninety-four percent of Sheffield students had some form of Christian upbringing, be that Sunday School, the learning of prayers, or religious teaching from parents (McLeod, 2007, p33). In fact, Sunday School attendances were at their peak during the 1950s, confirmations as a percentage of the population were similarly at their height between 1954 and 1960, with attendance at Easter communion as a percentage of the adult population reaching its height between 1956 and 1962.

Of course, to say that measures of religiosity peaked is not to say that they were high or overwhelmingly significant as an overall percentage of the population. As the analysis of age cohorts by Crockett and Voas (2006) shows, children born in around 1977 to parents born around 1949 had a maximum fifty-percent chance of maintaining religious belief if both parents were actively religious and a twenty-five percent chance if one parent were religious, resulting in a halving of the transmission of religious belief in just one generation (Crockett, 2006, p578). If the overall starting percentage of the population holding religious belief or practicing religion is less than total, the overall decline in society is obvious.

Equally, that the church had previously provided a social venue for the community does not indicate that by participating in church-run social activity there had been previous wilful adherence to Christian beliefs or even values. The attempt by the Church of Scotland to force the Scottish Office to licence bingo halls in 1958 and 1959 and its appeal to its members not to participate in such activities (Brown, 1997, p167) was equally unsuccessful, but it does not necessarily follow that church members had all happily opposed gambling until seduced by the appearance of bingo, just that there had been limited opportunities prior to that point and of course if seduction were necessary there would have been initial resistance and bingo would have struggled to establish itself.

Moreover, between 1946 and 1956 the Church of Scotland led a series of evangelistic campaigns: Christian Commandos, Tell Scotland, All Scotland Crusade all received considerable coverage by the BBC (Brown, 1997, p163). Brown suggests that, 'both the BBC and especially the Scottish press were carefully and successfully manipulated by the interdenominational organising committees' (Brown, 1997, p163) as if the media were duped into allowing the churches to claim a greater significance in the life of the nation than justifiable by their number and real influence in parishes and receive coverage that they were not entitled to at the expense of something else. However, the simple fact of running an

evangelical campaign is evidence enough that the churches did not dominate the religious or social world of the population and that there was no presumption that the nation consisted of a Christianised people. In any case, seventy percent of Church of Scotland ministers reported that all forms of evangelisation from 1954 to 1956 had little or no effect on the size and composition of their congregations (Brown, 1997, p164). Twenty-six thousand may have come forward for Billy Graham at Hampden Park in 1955 but there was no direct link with local churches and no evidence of any lasting effect and indeed Michael Ramsey, bishop of Durham, deemed such evangelism to be unreasoning moralising and referred to the 'menace of fundamentalism' (Robbins, 2008, p324).

Whilst not necessarily dominant, the Christian churches were not necessarily opposed, nor did they face serious competition in respect of value systems. Even when in 1956 the BBC broadcast 'Meeting Point', a Sunday-evening religious discussion programme with a debate format, the complaint by E. M. Foster that freethinkers were only allowed a say if there was a Christian to answer back (McLeod, 2008, p40) this reflected the view prevailing from the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting that there was a duty to maintain, 'the common element in all religious bodies' against those who denied spiritual values (Robbins, 2008, p326).

To Bruce (2002) though, there is then an observable trend from the 1950s that indicates that the major Christian denominations across Britain are one generation from extinction and that conventional religious beliefs are in terminal decline (Bruce, 2002, loc 897), a view reflected in Brown (2009) who cites the comments made in 1999 by George Carey, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, that Christianity was one generation away from extinction in a Britain with an 'allergy to religion' (Brown, 2009, p199) and draws attention to the view of Taylor that in contrast to the medieval and early modern periods, the modern period is characterised by the absence of a previous subconscious conception of a divinely constructed

universe as the unconscious basis of moral action (Brown, 2009, p193) and by the breakdown of the universally held world-view of Christianity that prevailed in the 1950s and cannot be recreated in any form in the contemporary setting (Brown, 2009, p196).

In the mid 1950s 44 per cent of the Scottish population were affiliated with a church, and the overwhelming majority of marriages were religiously solemnised and the baptism rate of infants was high, even although church attendance on a Sunday was about 12 per cent (Brown, 2009, p166). The 1950s saw 43 per cent of the British population believing in God while those explicitly denying the existence of God represented 2 per cent of the population. In 1956, 39 per cent of Scottish children attended Presbyterian Sunday school (Brown, 2009, p163). Divergence from a conservative Christianity was unusual - in 1955 the press harassed and impugned the reputation of Margaret Knight, a university academic from Aberdeen, who had suggested more open religious education for children which included teaching about humanism (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p332) while in 1957, the quest of Sheena Govan who ultimately founded the Findhorn Community to find 'the God within' was reported with derision in the press (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p333).

However, from 1956 membership of the Church of Scotland sustained a decline of 1.2 per cent each year, losing a total of 48 per cent by 1998 (Brown, 2009, p163) and representing 11.9 per cent of the population of Scotland by 2000 (Guest, Olson, and Wolffe, 2012, p62).

Equally over the period there was a decline in membership of Sunday Schools. In 1956, 39 per cent of Scottish children attended Presbyterian Sunday School, but this fell to 19 per cent in 1973, with numbers declining from a high of 325,200 children in 1956 to 60,936 in 1994 (Brown, 2009, p188). A commercial youth culture displaced the institutional influences like the Scouts where socialisation had occurred before the fifties all over western Europe, and the churches as communities of memory were confronted by major discontinuities and massive

scepticism about institutions (Martin, 2007, p148). The Scottish Church Census of 2016, noted that there were 52,000 children who had not been born at the time of the previous census in 2002 who were now attending Sunday Schools, although this still represents a decline (The Scottish Church Census, 2016). As Bruce (2002) points out, the numbers of children being actively socialised into Christian beliefs and doctrines through church-based activity declined to a point of irrelevance (Bruce, 2002, loc 1005).

2.7.3 Association with Christianity during the 1960s and 1970s

Changes in religious attitudes in the1950s and the 1960s do not however necessarily represent a decline in the significance of religion to individuals.

The 1960s was in fact a period where increasingly liberal Christian views found expression in a social context where deference to established social hierarchies and values was increasingly challenged, whether that be in the satire and comedy of 'Beyond the Fringe' and 'Monty Python', targeting politicians, royalty, clergy and the military in equal measure (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p333), or through the increasing sexualisation of the image of women in the fashion and advertising industries. In Scotland where tradition alone had restricted Sunday trading and social activity, going to supermarkets, sports fixtures and pubs became normal (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p334). A fall in the numbers of homosexual men reporting cases of blackmail related to their sexuality reflected not simply the political support for decriminalisation of homosexuality (which did not occur until the 1980s in Scotland) but a change in the public notion of what constituted respectable sexual activity (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p335). That is not to agree with Brown (2012) however that the result of the liberalisation of the moral framework was that Christian understandings, and religious understandings in general, were no longer considered as authoritative guides for behaviour (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p336); rather there was a changed moral framework which was still

a religious moral framework and religion had become no less irrelevant than when the religious moral framework changed during the Protestant Reformation; it remained the basis of a value system.

The legislation of the 1960s cannot be regarded as a removal of Christian values from the public democratic sphere for the simple reason that the Christian churches were active in proposing legislation and supporting change. The basis of the 1969 Divorce Act was the 1966 report by Archbishop Ramsey 'Putting Asunder', which proposed 'irretrievable breakdown of marriage' as the sole grounds for divorce stating that the law and the church [of England] should do everything possible to uphold lifelong marriage as the norm as well as the ideal (McLeod, 2008, p226). The support of the Church of Scotland was part of David Steel's argument for the introduction of the Abortion Act and the Parliament of 1966 contained only forty-eight atheists and agnostics out of six-hundred and thirty (McLeod, 2008, p227).

Similarly, when Mary Whitehouse sought to campaign against, as she put it, a small clique of humanists who had gained influence in Parliament, the media, and the universities, out of proportion to their numbers and that it was rather the duty of national institutions to promote Christian morality, she was relatively unsupported by the churches, suggesting little sense of a need for action amongst them (McLeod, 2008, p229).

However, if it is true, as McLeod asserts, that by the 1970s there was a need for parents to actively justify sending their children to church, with the proportion of children attending Church of Scotland Sunday school halving between 1956 and 1975 because it seemed in conflict with contemporary ideas concerning self-development (McLeod, 2008, p203-206) then that represents an active opposition to the values of the church rather than simple non-participation in them.

McLeod points out that most of the ideas that have become synonymous with the irreligious character of the national culture of the 1960s were not in fact new ideas, they originated in the early Twentieth Century, the Nineteenth Century and earlier, but the 1960s provided the context for relatively esoteric ideas to reach a mass audience and become fashionable (McLeod, 2008, p16).

The 1960s were an era where counter-cultural ideas gained traction because they were brought to public attention particularly through a series of books, plays and films and the controversies and legal actions which surrounded them (McLeod, 2008, p67)

The International Times founded in 1966 promoted the idea that other civilisations had insights lost in the West where the churches had become too dogmatic and lay down too many rules representing a system of ethics rather than an approach to understanding higher forms of life outside the earth, whereas earlier religions were concerned with understanding the nature of God and the forces which control what John Michell described as the rhythm of the universe; counter-culturalists were ready to accept the supernatural but rejected Christian ethics (McLeod, 2008, p132). Jeff Nuttall a poet of the counter-culture noted, 'Religious faith and the belief in human freedom just don't mix' (McLeod, 2008, p130).

The Charismatic movement of the seventies complained about the spiritual deadness of the churches (Bruce, 2014, p138) and recognised the role of feelings and emotions and intuition (McLeoad, 2008, p139).

This was also the era when it became possible for, as a Baptist put it by 1982, 'numbers of church members [to] move easily from one denomination to another when they change their place of living' (Robbins, 2008, p400) and the era when urban commuters began moving to the countryside and influencing local attitudes, rural embourgoisement, as Brown puts it (Brown, 1997, p169).

This was also the era of distinct development in theology. A typical theme in 1960s theology was the emphasis on the practice of Christianity outside the church and the adoption of situation ethics, the application of principles in particular circumstances rather than dogma (McLeod, 2008, p84). Indeed, accepting that the place of Christians was with the marginalised, a certain suspicion of recognised status was evident (McLeod, 2008, p84).

Likewise, the Second Vatican Council took place from 1962-65 as a constructive effort at Church reform and modernisation (McLeod, 2008, p11).

In a similar vein, Bishop John Robinson published 'Honest to God' in 1963. The book was a response to a conviction that the church was failing to teach Christianity in a way that made sense to contemporary men and women. The implication is that the church had done so in the past but that something had changed and it seems reasonable to conclude that the non-churched of the 1950s had become visible as alternatives to Christian culture were possible and publically adopted. Robinson proposed an updating of church language and imagery to make it more meaningful in a scientific age and a 'new morality' based on love applied creatively to the needs of a situation (McLeod, 2008, p84).

The 'New Christian' journal founded in 1965 reflected this view in its opening editorial entitled, 'The interpretation of the Christian faith in language and ideas which are appropriate to the Twentieth Century' (McLeoad, 2008, p87), while a typical example of an article is found in the contribution of Chad Varah, founder of the Samaritans: 'In many situations, communication by speech alone is ineffective. One can only *be* or *act* or *suffer*. The new Christian knows he is called to be Christ in his world; to let Christ act and suffer in and through him...he finds himself working in mutual respect alongside colleagues who do not profess his faith' (McCleod, 2008, p88).

2.7.4 Association with Christianity in the late Twentieth Century

There was a decline in official identification with any church from the 1960s, a trend which accelerated in the 1990s (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p338) where previously a decline in churchgoing was not accompanied by a lack of identification, as demonstrated by the position adopted when asked for a religion on entering the military, hospital or employment (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p338), prior to the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation.

This was not accompanied by any greater hardening of attitudes against the public presence of religion among the non-religious. (Bruce, 2011, p514) and whilst those who did not participate actively in religion represented the majority of the population, people were neither less sympathetic nor more antagonistic towards religion by the end of the 1990s (Bruce, 2011, p514).

Census material reveals a steady increase in those denoting themselves as of 'no religion' (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p338) rising from 27.55 per cent in 2001 to 36.7 per cent in 2011 (Scotland's Census, 2011) and the demographic character of those who designate themselves in this way has changed to include increasing numbers of women, previously the group with the least number, and a higher proportion of professionals of a white ethnic background (Brown and Lynch, 2012, p338).

Between 2005 and 2010 the loss of members of the Church of Scotland was 16 per cent with a further drop of 19 per cent predicted for 2015 (Church Statistics, 2014), a significant drop when it is considered that the Church of Scotland defines membership rigorously to represent actual attendance (Church Statistics, 2014). By contrast, actual attendance at mass in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland in 2008 was judged as being only 27 per cent of the total Roman Catholic population (Catholic Bishops' Conference of Scotland, 2014). Religious marriage declined only slowly towards the Twenty-First Century (Brown, 2009, p166), but in contrast by 1998, only 17 per cent of those baptised into the Church of Scotland became full

members at adulthood (Brown, 2009, p188). Overall, between 1984, the date of the first Scottish Church Census, and 2002, church attendances had reduced by 33 per cent from 854,000 people to 570,000 people, and by 2016, by a further 32 per cent to 390,000 people, although of those,12,000 (Scottish Church Census, 2016).

The question remains though as to whether such a large decline in membership reduces the ability of the institution to speak and be listened to, whether it reduces its significance in society, which remains the case only if the significance of religion to the individual is reduced.

In any case, in 2001 the national censuses generated a figure of 71.8 per cent of the British population identifying themselves as Christian in the optional question on religion (Guest, Olson, and Wolffe, 2012, p62), and 65 per cent of the Scottish population did so (Scotland's Census, 2011) - although it has been argued that people who identified themselves as Christians did so as a synonym for 'British' or 'Scottish' which relates to an ethnic identity in distinguishing the individual from immigrant groups identified by religion, such as Muslims (Guest, Olson, and Wolffe, 2012, p66), given the tiny percentage of the population of Scotland that is non-white, the argument that a designation of 'Christian' is used by individuals of a white ethnic background to distinguish themselves from minority ethnic groups that identify solidly with a religion, principally Islam, is fairly implausible, particularly given the specific adherence to the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church.

In 2011 the figure for those in Scotland recording that they were Christian had reduced to 54 per cent with the figure for people of all religions being 56.3 per cent of the population, Islam being the largest non-Christian religion with only 1.4 per cent of the population, with the concentration being greatest in Glasgow where merely 5 per cent of the population were

recorded as being Muslims. 32.4 per cent of the population of Scotland identified with the Church of Scotland, and 15.9 per cent with the Roman Catholic Church, with other Christian groups making up 5.5 per cent of the population (Scotland's Census, 2011), indicating that in fact the majority of individuals who demonstrated a personal religious conviction still equally identified with the institutional church.

That however is not to say that all who identified with the churches may be regarded as practicing Christians. In 2008 fewer than one fifth of Presbyterians reported attending services regularly compared to 58 per cent of Muslims and 73 per cent of Sikhs (Bruce, 2011, p509). Church of Scotland membership figures indicate a total of 368,411 in 2010 (Church Statistics, 2014) compared to the 1,718,000 recording themselves as members in the census (Scotland's Census, 2011), while an estimated Roman Catholic population of 667, 017 in 2008, with an average of 185,608 of that total regarded as attending at least weekly (Catholic Bishops' Conference of Scotland, 2014), compares with a figure of 841, 000 in the census (Scotland's Census, 2011). But that of course is not the point as secularisation theory requires a complete movement away from religious values as much as beliefs and practices. The institutional church retains an audience in individuals for whom religious values are not insignificant.

Likewise the argument that the figures can be used to demonstrate the notion that non-religion is the cultural norm or at least rapidly becoming so, especially where non-belief extends beyond a rejection of belief, practice and dogma to include values, is debateable given the opportunity to identify as having no religion and the corresponding minority percentage of the population who chose to do so. In fact it rather suggests an identification with religious values even if beliefs and practices are rejected in part or in total.

Nor if the emphasis of religiosity is in the private sphere, does this inhibit individuals who hold religious beliefs and values acting in accordance with them within public life especially where there exists a mass body who hold at least nominal allegiance to the values of that religion, that being Christianity in Scotland, and therefore ensuring that the society is one with operative Christian values. What is absent is the link between Christian values and Christian acts of worship and dogma, which may be regarded as the reality of the process of religious change in the Scottish context. Non-observance rather than non-religion may in fact be regarded as the norm.

However, British Social Attitudes 2010 does record that forty-five per cent of the surveyed were unsympathetic to religious leaders adopting a more active role in politics, more so in 2008 compared to 1998 and considered that if more of our elected officials were deeply religious the laws and policy decisions they would make would probably be worse (Bruce, 2011, p509).

2.8 The dislocation of Church teaching from public values

There exists evidence of a decline in Christian beliefs. By the 1990s the figure for those believing in God had fallen to 31 per cent, with those explicitly denying the existence of God rising from 2 per cent in the 1950s to 27 per cent in the 1990s (Bruce, 2002, loc 1046). Survey data from 2001 reveals that in Scotland between 1939 and 1996 there was a significant decline in Christian beliefs including in a personal God and in Jesus as Son of God and in traditional Christian teachings about the afterlife and the Bible (Bruce, 2002, loc 1046).

The problem with citing such data as evidence for a reduction in the significance of religion to the individual is that within religious thought the significance of these specific beliefs is equally subject to change. Secularisation theory relies on the hypothetical existence of a static

religious belief system within Protestant societies, which by definition is precluded by the nature of Protestantism, which in some elements, such as in the thinking of theologians developing the later work of Bonhoeffer, even regards secularisation itself as the realisation of Protestantism (Berger, 1967, p106) where the individual and social moral codes of Protestantism and the entire world-view of Protestantism are so completely affected as to no longer need explicit mention or institutionalisation. Religion remains significant to the individual if the individual continues to operate socially in accordance with its values as much as its beliefs. Nor are non-religious views necessarily anti-religious views or views contrary to prevailing religious values, which secularisation would actually require them to be for religion to have no significance to the individual.

However, in 1991 the Moderator of the general Assembly of the Church of Scotland spoke of the loss within the church at a policy level of a vision of the parish church engaged with 'the total life of a community' and criticised the parallel tendency of congregations at parish level to see themselves as simply gatherings of the theologically like-minded, extracted from the community (Robbins, 2008, p469). The theology he saw was clearly not one of action within the world in either a pastoral or evangelical sense and he may be seen as criticising an inward looking church, but he was also reflecting a new sense of a new reality of the church being something distinct from and apart from the community. This was clearly not simply in the sense of community not requiring pastoral support from the church because of alternative provision through arms of the state in social care, health care and education and the church not ensuring members continued to act in those nationalised spheres as individuals, but in the sense of the church being apart from the community because of a divergence of values and attitudes. The attitude is one of a national Church losing its position as such and returning to the position of a sect standing against the world. A sect would be defined here as a self-selecting voluntary association of like-minded believers which insists its members be

seriously religious and draws clear lines between its members and the ‘worldly’ (Bruce, 2014, p128). The Puritan world-view that permeated the social fabric of the nation and the intellectual fabric of the individual in such an all-pervasive manner that the formation of law to enforce the norms of society was unnecessary has in this view been consigned to history, ‘with little fuss, fluttering to the ground, lighter than a house of cards’ (Brown, 1997, p2).

Bruce (2014) considers that the collective attitude of some of the Christian churches in Scotland to legislation by the Scottish Parliament regarding equality, and in particular to equal marriage, is clear evidence of this new distinction between Christian values and the public values of the nation, the assumption being that the views of the politicians accurately reflect those of the electorate with no affiliation to Christian churches and the views of the church leaders accurately reflect those of the members of churches.

Bruce records the statement of the Free Presbyterian Church that equal marriage is, ‘extremely dangerous and harmful to the foundations of our society which are so intimately bound up with the divinely ordained institution of marriage’, including the assertion that, ‘Our authority in such matters is only the Word of God and we refer the Scottish Government to its plain statements condemning homosexuality’ (Bruce, 2014, p215). Bruce then comments on the church’s action: ‘as though [they were] seriously expecting the Scottish Government to check its scripture homework’ (Bruce, 2014, p215). Inherent in this statement by a prominent proponent of secularisation theory is the assumption that the readership of his book will naturally concur that the view of the church is at variance with the values of the majority. In this view, Twenty-First Century values and attitudes and their expression in the political realm are deemed to be distinct from those of the Christian churches.

The absence of any political force with a significant base in the electorate that might associate itself with these particular views against equal marriage, and homosexuality itself,

is perhaps indicative but not in itself decisive proof that the majority or the nation are not opposed to equality, and in returning to the historic Puritan world-view that was so universal that laws to enforce social practices were unnecessary, it is significant that in the Twenty-First Century there is no parallel secular world-view that precludes the necessity for a raft of equality and anti-discrimination legislation which individuals continually find it necessary to call upon for protection and redress, and far from exclusively against discrimination by Christians.

Nonetheless, as Bruce points out, the debate over equal marriage and homosexuality does illustrate, as he sees it, the very narrow remit now permitted to organised religion in the social and political life of the nation (Bruce, 2014, p222): 'There is nothing new about Christian churches trying to control expressions of human sexuality. What is novel about our current context is that they seem little interested in anything else' (Bruce, 2014, p217). The reason given is that with the rise of representative democracy and the ability of individuals from across the social spectrum to influence government, the role of the churches representing an enlightened elite in promoting legislation to reform working conditions in mines and factories on behalf of those who had no power to do so themselves, effectively ceased (Bruce, 2014, p217). This of course both discounts the role in political and social reform of movements such as Chartism, and the development of and struggle for trades unionism, aspects of political and social change which were not exclusively motivated by Christianity and not universally supported by the Christian churches either. It is also demonstrably untrue that the Christian churches ceased to campaign for social and political change from the conflict between the Thatcher government of the 1980s and the national churches of Scotland and England to current campaigns to advance policies deemed socially responsible.

What is perhaps more justifiable a claim is that, as Bruce puts it, the notion that loving your neighbour might involve telling him that unless he changes his ways he might go to hell, has

been quite forgotten (Bruce, 2014, p133), and that in fact as religion has become less popular it has also become less well known allowing a distortion in the popular perceptions of Christianity (Bruce, 2014, p119) such that 'serious' Christian organisations appear mean-spirited and self-interested (Bruce, 2014, p133). This is reflected in the Church of Scotland celebrating Christmas as a special religious event with watchnight services and Christingles in a way which would previously have provoked horror and accusations of idolatry (Bruce, 2014, p133), the point being that the underlying theological objection to a Christmas festival within Presbyterianism has been usurped by the feeling that the belief is damaging to the reputation of the church and not so important that it cannot be dropped in the face of popular hilarity at stereotypes of the dour, joyless Presbyterian such as Ricky Fulton's the Reverend I. M. Jolly.

The Christian churches may not necessarily have come to represent the antithesis of national public values, nor have they necessarily retreated into the introspective obsession of a sect divorced from the world, but they are most certainly spoken of differently in the media and in politics than they were in the 1950s. Membership and association too are different, as perhaps is familiarity with Christian belief.

2.9 The significance of 'World Religions'

Secularisation as a theory is principally concerned with change only in societies with a Christian culture, to the extent that religion is to some a synonym for Christianity (Martin, 1978, p2), and to some theorists secularisation depends specifically upon Protestant culture as a prerequisite, and where the cultural cross-fertilisation of globalisation, through commerce, industry, migration and connectivity, have an insignificant impact upon that core Protestant, or post-Protestant culture. Consequently the influence of the religions of immigrants into Scotland during the period under consideration must be addressed. The number of adherents

to what the curriculum refers to as, ‘World Religions’, is significant to arguments of secularisation and to understanding the priorities of the curriculum over the period, in terms of how they influence the cultural and religious context. The curriculum makes reference to both these issues in establishing its rationale.

To Bruce (2014b) the migrant by virtue of being a migrant often feels adrift and at a loss in an alien environment and is disposed to stay close to what is familiar and have a place to meet fellow countrymen and slip into old identities and speak a mother language and religious centres often provide practical assistance in adapting to the new world. The migrant can no longer be accidentally or passively religious but must make a positive effort (Bruce, 2014b, p41). That might account for successive generations adhering to the religion if they are still perceived of, and perceive of themselves as, aliens and need a sense of community and belonging, but such adherence might equally stand as evidence of the continuing significance of religious institutions and religious beliefs to individuals belonging to religions outside of Christianity. The matter of their position within society is therefore relative to the size of the religious population and its corresponding influence upon the social sphere and the political realm. A theory of secularisation might dismiss this as external to the historic trend which relates to Protestant Christian societies, but it most certainly negates the possibility of a secular society and the prevalence of a secularist ideology and arguably therefore if there was such a thing as an historic process of secularisation, its end point could well be the conversion of society to another religion or set of religions.

2.9.1 Islam

Ernest Gellner (Post-Modernism, Reason and Religion, 1992), stated that Islam was the exception to the outmoded status of religion because in its high cultural form, it was rational and egalitarian rather than magical, ritualistic and priestly (Martin, 2014, p3). According to

Bruce, arguably the greatest impact of Islam has been actually to hasten secularisation. The marginalisation of religion in Scottish public life has been an accidental by-product of religious schisms producing religious minorities who have tried to protect their own interests by reducing the privileges of the state Church of Scotland (Bruce, 2014b, p210). Now that a majority of the population make no religious faith claims, claims by non-Christian religions that they are the victims of discrimination because they do not enjoy some historic privileges of Christian churches will more likely result in those privileges being withdrawn rather than extended (Bruce, 2014b, p210). It is unclear what evidence for the removal of privileges is referred to as the only privilege of any Christian church in Scotland is the right of the Roman Catholic Church to control pupil places, appointments and the curriculum in Roman Catholic schools (and indeed in 2011 Scotland had one Islamic primary school, Qalam Academy in Glasgow (Bruce, 2014b, p197)) while all individual members of a religion are protected against discrimination under current equality legislation.

This might though be considered a result of what Beckford (2010) described as the Muslims challenge to the secularist accommodation Western society has evolved over last hundred years. Muslims assert the right to protect their faith from criticism or ridicule. The accommodation was part of a broader agenda by the British state to manage religion and ethnic diversity (Beckford, 2010), (Bruce, 2011, p504) and might justify the claim that Islam fosters the general impression that religion taken too seriously is trouble (Bruce, 2014b, p210).

The significance of Islam on society and culture is in part an issue of numbers.

Historical records indicate that Muslims have been coming to the British Isles as traders, students, seafarers and explorers from as early as the Ninth Century (Ansari, 2004; Gilliat-

Ray, 2010). However, many of these early Muslims coming to Britain were transient settlers. (Bluck et al, 2012, p110).

From the late Nineteenth Century however a distinct Anglo-Muslim community began to evolve in Britain, stimulated by Britain's colonial links, and especially those with the Indian subcontinent (Bluck et al, 2012, p111).

In terms of numbers though, the decades after 1945 were certainly distinctive in terms of the scale of Muslim settlement in Britain. Many relatively poor, uneducated migrant labourers came to Britain especially from the Indian subcontinental countries of Pakistan, Bangladesh and India because of the need to redevelop towns and cities damaged by the war and because of the expansion of manufacturing industries in the 1950s and 1960s. Being a Muslim in Britain at this time was therefore primarily a matter of belonging to a particular ethnic group or kinship network (Bluck et al, 2012, p111) and many South Asian men in Britain sent for their wives and children from their villages and towns in the Indian sub-continent to join them in the UK (Bluck et al, 2012, p112)

However, during the later decades of the Twentieth Century the ethnic composition of British Muslims diversified considerably and towns and cities with existing Muslim communities, provided obvious places to settle and build new lives.

The first accurate measure of numbers of Muslims came with the introduction of the religious identity question in the 2001 census where 42,577 or less than one per cent of the Scottish population were Muslim, rising to 76, 737 and 1.4 per cent of the population by 2011 (Scotland's Census, 2011). As Bruce (2014b) points out, in the context of considering changes to Scottish culture it is worth noting that in Scotland ten times as many residents were born in England as are Muslims. In 2001 there was not one Muslim in thirteen of thirty-two local authorities and only one to seven per cent of the population were recorded as being

Muslims in seven authority areas. Edinburgh had sixteen per cent and Glasgow forty-two percent of the total population of Muslims. (Bruce, 2014b, p197).

However, in 2001 one in five births was to foreign mother in the UK and 71.4% of British born Muslims said Muslim identity was important to them. 97% of Bengalis and Pakistanis identified themselves as Muslim compared with only 43% of British born African and Caribbean identifying themselves as Christians and only 42% of foreign born, mainly Eastern Europeans doing likewise. Only 23% of those who were British born and of British descent identified themselves as Christian. (Kaufmann, 2010, p174)

Conversion to Islam by those of many different ethnic backgrounds (but mainly white British and Afro-Caribbean) is significant, not from a numerical perspective, but more because of the 'disproportionate contribution [they] make to the indigenisation of Islamic practice, thought and discourse in the West' (Zebiri 2008, p1) Converts account for about one per cent of the British Muslim population, so this means that there are likely to be about 21,000 converts in Britain today (Gilliat-Ray 2010). (Bluck et al, 2012, p112)

Notable also is the relative youth of British Muslims. Approximately half are under the age of 25, and about half have been born in the UK itself. In contrast, only five per cent of Muslims in Britain are over the age of sixty, compared to twenty per cent of the rest of the population. (Bluck et al, 2012, p113).

According to Bluck (2012), without diminishing the significance of collective identification with Islam one of the distinctive changes that has perhaps taken place over the past two to three decades has been the gradual adoption of a more personal, proactive and individual relationship to Islam especially among younger, British-born Muslims (Bluck et al, 2012, p111). There is a certain constraint on inter-religious mixing with Muslims attending after school classes in Islam and with the simple fact of the centrality of alcohol to Scottish social

life, revolving as it does around pubs, clubs and bars (Bruce, 2014b, p198). Muslim women are more than twice as economically inactive as other British women and because of traditional Muslim gender roles only one quarter of those who are economically inactive want work (Kaufmann, 2010, p180). Because of migration patterns Muslims have tended to be located in particular cities and neighbourhoods and in some places they may constitute a high percentage the local population (Bluck et al, 2012, p113). 92% of Muslims marry within the faith (Kaufmann, 2010, p176).

There has been no serious attempt to assess how many people raised as Muslims leave Islam. Scottish mosques either do not keep records of attendance or not belong to overarching organisations which collate and publish information and most Muslim women not expected attend. (Bruce, 2014b, p205). Open criticism of the faith is difficult because it is felt as disloyalty (Bruce, 2014b, p207).

Secularisation theorists cannot simply therefore dismiss Islam as having no effect on the nature and significance of religion in society when it retains and expands its membership and Islam is significant to an understanding of cultural and societal change simply because its existence determines that there will be interaction with it, even before any consideration of how it may actually alter the culture.

2.9.2 Judaism

In terms of numbers Judaism is tiny. In 2001, 295,000 Jews made up 0.5 percent of the population of the UK, with two-thirds living in London and the south-east. Many Jews leave Scotland in search of marriage partners in the larger communities of Manchester and London. In 2011, there were 5887 Jews in Scotland, representing 0.1 per cent of the Scottish population (Scotland's Census, 2011). In terms of religious influence, over half the Jews in Britain describe themselves as 'secular' or 'somewhat secular' and the community has

assimilated into British society so effectively that some worry that the Jewish continuity and identity are being eroded (Bluck et al, 2012, p89). Indeed, 'a Jew need not practise his or her religion, believe in its tenets or at any point in his or her life be baptised or declare allegiance to God in order to be considered Jewish even in Orthodox Jewish eyes': in this sense, being Jewish is more akin to race and ethnicity than to religion, a fact that is recognised in the legal system of England and Wales (Bluck et al, 2012, p89).

2.9.3 Sikhism

The main growth in Sikh settlement occurred after 1945. The post-war economic recovery in Britain was accompanied by demand for industrial labour that was met by migrants from the New Commonwealth countries (India, Pakistan and the West Indies). Migrants subsequently bringing family to Britain increased the Sikh community's numbers, although 1960's immigration controls were imposed to restrict this flow, and numbers were further increased by the arrival of Sikhs from East Africa (Kenya,Uganda and Tanzania) who sought to escape Africanisation arriving as refugees. Despite a fresh wave of inward migration, notably in the 1970s and 1980s (as well as since 2000), the major growth in the population was the result of births in the United Kingdom. Thus the Sikh population has increased from about 7000 in 1951 to 336,179 in 2001, with perhaps the initial primary migration (of the first generation) being around 150,000 by 1981. Since 1981 the decennial percentage rate of increase had declined to 43 per cent by 1991 and further to 38.7per cent by 2001 (Singh and Tatla 2006:59) (Bluck et al, 2012, p100). In Scotland there were 9055 Sikhs in 2011, representing 0.17 per cent of the Scottish population (Scotland's Census, 2011).

The experience of living in Britain has had a profound effect on Sikh religious institutions values and traditions and in shaping the emergence of a vocal and activist Sikh disaspora (Tatla 1999) (Bluck et al, 2012, p100)

The success of the gurdwara movement has led to a high degree of institutionalisation among British Sikhs that is reflected in an ability to protect vital Sikh interests when these appear to be threatened. Since the 1960s gurdwaras have provided the resources for Sikhs to mobilize for the right to wear the Sikh dresscode (turbans, kirpans and beards) more significantly these campaigns succeeded in establishing the dominant Khalsa discourse of Sikh identity within English law. (Bluck et al, 2012, p107)

Despite the group's small size, British Sikhs retain a prominent public profile that is often demonstrated by formal representations to government, lobbying and court cases. (Bluck et al, 2012, p108)

2.9.4 Hinduism

The Twenty-First Century has witnessed the development of a more assertive Hindu identity in Britain associated with emerging representative groups that claim to encompass internal diversity and the establishment of a range of spectacular purpose-built temples (Bluck et al, 2012, p121). 'Temples are providing an extension of the domestic sphere for diasporic groups, offering a committed community of worshippers and ritual practice in a situation where the extended family is not physically present to take care of essential life rituals' (David 2009:343) (Bluck et al, 2012, p126)

The 2001 census data records the Hindu population of Britain as 558,342, about one per cent of the total population and just over eighteen per cent of the non-Christian religious population (Bluck et al, 2012, p123). In Scotland there were 16,379 Hindus in 2011, representing 0.3 per cent of the population (Scotland's Census, 2011).

2.9.5 Buddhism

The first Buddhists in London were white converts rather than the Asian Buddhist immigrants who began to arrive some decades later. 'Convert' and 'ethnic' Buddhists tend to practise their religion in rather different ways (Bluck et al, 2012, p131) and of the seven-thousand Scots recorded in the 2001 census as Buddhists, half did not have Buddhist parents (Bruce, 2014b, p166). In 2011 there were 12,795 Buddhists in Scotland, representing 0.24 per cent of the population (Scotland's Census, 2011). As Buddhism can quite readily be secularised into a self-help therapy that offers a drug-free way of addressing the minor discontents of modern life (Bruce, 2014b, p167) its position in society is not such as could challenge secularisation theory.

The curriculum documents, as we will see, make similar references to the number of adherents to 'World Religions' at different points during the period under consideration, noting that the relatively small numbers render the influence of these religions on society as slight, and as such their significance to the curriculum is correspondingly limited.

2.10 How Secularisation Theory explains challenges to the concept of linear change.

The prevailing view of religious change amongst theorists is that established institutional religion which declined into the late modern period - defined as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - but nonetheless survived, is now changing latterly through a process of internal secularisation such that it negates its own relevance, while new emerging forms of religion are sectarian and fundamentalist and therefore marginal, and as such of little significance in terms of influence on society (Cox, 2003, p201). Christianity in particular is 'the religion to exit from religion' (Gouchet, 1997, in Casanova, 2009, p1055). This is occurring at the end of a linear process of decline and is its consummation.

Increased religious adherence globally is explained away as irrelevant to the theory.

2.10.1 The United States

Gouchet (1997) suggested that in places where a secularist historical 'stadial consciousness' is absent (the United States or most non-Western post-colonial societies), the process of modernisation was unlikely to be accompanied by a process of religious decline and might in fact be accompanied by religious revival (Casanova, 2009, p1055). Pentecostal and charismatic churches established in the late Twentieth Century in North American became rapidly indigenous and self-financing and especially appealing to women in search of family stability in the face of male irresponsibility (Martin, 2007, p147). Moreover, the federal structure and liberal ideology of the United States and a disinclination to create quasi-monopolies in communication and welfare which would displace the role of churches, and the absence of centralised institutions (like the BBC in Britain) which could be controlled by a secularising intelligentsia to promote an agenda (Martin, 2007, p146), combined with a pre-existing constitutional division between government and religion, and the fact that the United States has sufficient geographical and social space for hostile groups to bypass each other (Martin, 2007, p146), creates a situation where religion is unchallenged. Notwithstanding the open role religion plays for individuals in their public life and in the social values of urban communities, it is nonetheless a private affair.

2.10.2 South America

Likewise, the growth of Roman Catholicism in South America is also seen as a social and political phenomenon due to the role of the church in the social and political sphere and not a religious one. Liberation theology adapted the old Roman Catholic hegemony in Latin America to a radical political agenda with the aim, according to Martin (2007) of pre-empting both Marxism and Pentecostalism. Proponents of secularisation theory suggest that the impact of liberation theology lasted only as long as the crisis brought about by authoritarian

military regimes particularly in Chile and Brazil (Martin, 2007, p147) and as such religious adherence will decline.

2.10.3 Eastern Europe

The degree of religious adherence in former Communist countries of Eastern Europe is often taken as evidence of the resilience of ethno-religion as a vehicle of collective identity but, as Martin (2014) puts it, 'major outcries of inner conscientious dissent' can also be seen working in combination with transnational religious influences, specifically the Roman Catholic Church and so the movement for national liberation in 1989 'processed into the public arena behind the banners of religion', from Lithuania to East Germany to Ukraine (Martin, 2014, p4).

As Bruce (2014b) notes, when people share a religious identity which distinguishes them from neighbours from whom they are under threat, they become increasingly attached to that faith as a cement that binds them together (Bruce, 2014b, p42). In Serbia the Church adopted a hyper-nationalistic attitude based on the role of Serbia as a victim nation and the threat to sacred pilgrimage sites of Kosovo (Bruce, 2014b, p42). Korea threatened by Japan discovered a national identity in association with Christianity (Martin, 2007, p148). This was also the case with the popularity of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland between 1945 and 1991. The Gdansk shipyard workers began each day of their occupation with Mass. The Solidarity trades union made use of images of the Black Madonna of Czestochow. Catholic rituals may be regarded as providing relatively safe opportunities for showing hostility to the Communist state (Bruce, 2014b, p42).

As Martin (2014) suggests, once a religion based on choice becomes the faith of the majority it confers a birthright identity (Martin, 2014, p8). Accordingly, in the highly secularised Estonia and Czech Republic, elite espousal of an active secularist agenda, especially in a

communist form, did not succeed in crushing religion but only in pushing it into free-ranging, semi-institutional forms such as pilgrimages (Martin, 2007, p145). However, the revival of paganism by intellectuals in the Baltic as an authentic pre-Christian religion of the folk had as much to do with cultural nationalism as with religion (Martin, 2014, p7) and in Estonia, Latvia, the Czech lands, and Slovenia, cultural nationalism was more evident than religion (Martin, 2014, p6).

2.10.4 Russia

The resurgence of Orthodox Christianity in Russia is regarded as resulting from both the release of a society from atheist Communism as a political expression rather than an expression of religious faith and from the absence of the social changes which occurred outside the communist bloc in the interim, which may however be to mischaracterise the nature of soviet society. However, the role of religion in inspiring national resistance throughout communist Eastern Europe and in reinforcing Russian identity since demise of communism, is such that Martin asks whether this exemplifies another master narrative. In 2006 the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Socio-political Research recorded a seventy-two percent identification with Christianity amongst the population (Martin, 2007, p145).

Equally, proponents of secularisation theory seek to minimise the significance of new, emerging forms of religion.

2.10.5 Popular Religion

Sarah Williams (1999) defined popular religion as, ‘a generally shared understanding of religious meaning including both folk beliefs as well as formal and officially sanctioned practices and ideas, operating within a loosely bounded interpretative community’ (Bruce,

2011, p545) and as pointed out by Bruce (2011), popular (or folk) religion has been used by some social historians to rebut secularisation theory (Bruce, 2011, p543). However, Richard Sykes (2005) considered popular or folk religion to include superstitions with varying degrees of connection to Christianity and a popular appropriation of Christian themes and rituals. Occasional involvement with Christianity, for example claiming Christian identity, using religious offices for rites of passage and attending church for such major services as harvest festivals, Christmas and Easter, were also common (Bruce, 2011, p545). As such, David Clark (1982) pointed out that popular appropriation of the activities of the Christian churches may in fact be at odds with the intentions of the churches (Bruce, 2011, p545). The argument would therefore be that a diverse and unorganised set of beliefs and practices has no impact upon the culture or society at large which remains secular in outlook and function with these beliefs affecting an insignificant number of people; scale being important in the development of national culture.

2.10.6 Alternative Spiritualities

Although, as Harvey and Vincent (2012) point out, practitioners of alternative spiritualities are numerically a minority, their ideas, practices and products (health remedies and festivals for example) have come to have a significant presence in the larger culture and are now quite familiar. Indeed, as Bruce (2014b) contends, most of what little New Age activity there is to be found in Scotland is much more closely related to psychological and physical well-being than it is to alternative religion; it is more an extension of the gym and the self-help therapy manual than an alternative to the churches and church-going (Bruce, 2014b, p185). Less than two per cent of Scots travelling to Samye Ling in Eskdalemuir, the largest Buddhist monastery in Scotland, have any interest in yoga, meditation, divination, or alternative medicine; the Interest is concentrated primarily in physical and psychological well-being

rather than spirituality (Bruce, 2014, p203) and indeed almost all the residents are incomers, mostly English (Bruce, 2014, p202).

Nonetheless, there are alternative ways of being religious or spiritual that are increasingly familiar (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p168) and in terms of the class and ethnicity of those who are involved, the pervasiveness of elements of spirituality in the wider culture including complementary and alternative medicine is marked (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p156).

There are certain points of commonality between alternative spiritualities. According to Bruce (Bruce, 2014b, p181) there is the shared belief that a human being is divine and essentially good because the human being is essentially God. The common aim of New Age therapies is to strip away any psychological result of negative experiences, poor environment and circumstances in order to release the potential of the individual. There is no authority higher than the individual and the final arbiter of truth is the individual who possesses the essence of divinity. The purpose is to feel better and to be happier in this life, a theme arguably shared with liberal Christianity (Bruce, 2014b, p181).

Alternative spiritualities contrast with religion, understood as concerned with 'external dogmatic authority set over the individual,' with spirituality understood as concerned with, 'the deepest experiences of the individual as he or she comes in touch with that which is most sacred or of ultimate concern' (Vincett and Woodhead 2009:320) (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p158).

Alternative spiritualities now have recognition and acceptance in the media and popular culture, healthcare, and in institutions such as the military or hospitals as demonstrated by the provision of time off or chaplains (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p157).

Members may also more consciously attempt to influence public policy by involvement in feminism, environmentalism, the peace movement or social justice campaigns (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p159) which they see as an expression of their beliefs.

The rise of such beliefs does point to a religious shift among the general population indicating that people are approaching religion differently (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p161). After all, until the 1951 repeal of Witchcraft Act 1736, practicing witchcraft was unlawful, and alternative spiritualities were regarded as highly controversial, with sensationalist popular reporting and concern about black magic and Satanism. (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p159), whereas today Wicca has been called the only religion that Britain has given the world (Hutton 1999) (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p163). Accordingly, the popular sense that the pre-Christian paganisms associated with contemporary forms of alternative spirituality are part of the history of the British Isles and are an acceptable form of religion to celebrate in public today may be seen in celebrations like Edinburgh's Beltane (Harvey and Vincett, 2012, p163).

So secularisation theory claims that the growth or persistence of religion globally is due entirely to extraneous factors which do not invalidate a secularisation theory which is premised on a decline in association due to factors of modernisation and industrialisation. Any curriculum placing Scotland in a global context would be expected to define the position of religion in Scotland accordingly. The curriculum, we will see, situates itself within the religious context of Scotland throughout the period, but rejects the notion of the decline of religion globally, insisting in part that Religious Education is to provide an understanding of other cultures by a study of their religion.

2.11 The problem of associating the decline in institutional religion with the development of scientific worldviews

By subsuming factors which explain decline in conventional adherence to institutional religion within a theory of inevitable decline in religiosity, the significance of religious change from an historical perspective is lost. Examining reasons for decline may reveal the church fulfilling its role in different ways or changing its role and failure to do so is to mischaracterise institutional religion and religion itself as a rejected pass-time. Indeed, the prevailing view rests on the premise that there is a fundamental opposition between religious and non-religious ways of understanding the world and that a non-religious worldview equates with the dominant worldview of western science (Buckser, 1996, p434), making any changes in religious adherence or belief irrelevant as they do not affect the inherent opposition between religious and scientific worldviews (Buckser, 1996, p433), though in general the western scientific community makes no particular claim to such an equivalence as it rests on a particular conception of both religion and science held by proponents of secularisation theory.

Furthermore, the view that religion is simply a system for explaining the natural world in a manner different to a more effective and complete scientific approach is a restricted view of religion, making no reference to the functions of religion as a provider of purpose, psychological perspective, moral codes, social community and so forth (Buckser, 1996, p434), and makes no concession to the religious origins of western science. It seeks to challenge the legitimacy of the influence on the social and political spheres of religious belief amongst individuals, and yet arguably, the denial of religious belief became possible precisely because Christian theology developed to conceive that things of another world could be analysed and criticised or denied as part of an observable world (Buckley, cited Morris, 2012, p210)

Buckser cites Anthony Wallace writing in 1966 in an anthropological assessment of religion which presents one premise on which secularisation theory is built, that religion is a belief,

‘in supernatural beings and in supernatural forces that affect nature without obeying nature’s laws’, a belief which was bound to die out because, ‘of the increasing adequacy and diffusion of scientific knowledge and the realisation by secular faiths that supernatural belief is not necessary to the effective use of ritual’ (cited in Buckser, 1996, p433); a view which restricted religion to a set of rituals devised as responses to, and interactions with, supernatural beings, and again ignored the origins of western science, not simply in religion but in Protestant Christianity in particular.

Defining religion in this way has been described as a polemical tool used by proponents of a counter-religious ideology to relate the ‘real’ element in religion to an irreversible process of secularisation which will see the end of religion (Clark, 2012, p162). Stark and Bainbridge produced the retort that religion performs a social and psychological function of such import that it cannot disappear but rather apparent decline must mask a process of substitution or be temporary, accounting for a cycle of decline and revival (Bell, 1977, cited in Clark, 2012, p163).

Indeed, as Barnett (2003) points out, explicit recourse to the tool of reason appears in Protestant religious discourse increasingly between the Reformation and the Seventeenth Century so much so that by 1700 the criterion of reason was present in a significant proportion of Protestant writings and was especially visible in England. (Barnett, 2003, p47). Whilst it has been traditionally argued (Cragg, 1964, Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century) that critics of the Church seized upon these tools of reason and turned them against Church and that reason became the watchword of philosophes against the miraculous, the superstitious and against backward tradition (Barnett, 2003, p48), in fact, criticism of the Church tended to take the form of Protestants and Roman Catholics being anticlerical with regard to each other (Barnett, 2003, p50), seeking to demonstrate that the history of their religious opponents, like that of pagan religions was little more than a history of priestcraft:

religious fraud conducted in order acquire wealth, political power and status keeping laity ignorant of true religion (Barnett, 2003, p51)

Ned Landsman's study of evangelicals in the west of Scotland during the Eighteenth Century noted, 'An increased respect for learning, including the 'new learning' of the Enlightenment; and enlarged role of reason in both religious and secular affairs, a decidedly commercial perspective on economics and society, and an increasingly humanistic philosophy of morals' (Tarbuck, 2007, p337). As Tarbuck (2007) points out, the Scottish Enlightenment has been thought to be crucial as a rite of passage to modernity by intellectual historians for the last decades (Tarbuck, 2007, p337) but revisionist studies highlight the need to redress certain issues such as the centrality of Protestantism in general and Calvinism in particular to the political and culture nature of Scotland (Tarbuck, 2007, p337) because religious concerns have yet to be integrated fully in historians' ways of seeing Eighteenth Century Scottish mentalities (Tarbuck, 2007, p338)

In 2002, Colin Kidd noted that in fact, 'One of the silent tenets of the nationalist historiography is the privileging of the particularities of the nation's culture over confessional values that transcend national boundaries. Almost inevitably it is assumed that Scots patriots cared more about those aspects of their culture which differentiated them from England than they did for example about their shared Protestantism. However, as Tarbuck (2007) notes, the confessional identities of late Eighteenth-Century contemporaries easily trumped identification with one's nation (Tarbuck, 2007, p339). It is necessary to question the assumption the notion of the secularist nature of Enlightenment, together with implications of a nationalist agenda in the Scottish version of it. The idea that the Church of Scotland and its tenets were something the Scottish literati were against and it was the literati who represented the Scottish Enlightenment milieu with its centre of interest being the dynamics of society, is debateable (Tarbuck, 2007, p339).

Roger Emerson (1990) noted that, 'With the possible exception of David Hume, Scottish intellectuals at no time during the Eighteenth Century would have denied that a spiritual realm existed'. Nor was it normal to think that political and cosmological and philosophical realms were incommensurably separable from, and unrelated to, the spiritual (Tarbuck, 2007, p340).

Indeed, as JGA Pocock (2007) noted, the interpretation of what historians understand by modernity was possibly a far cry from what Eighteenth-Century Scottish thinkers understood when they thought of themselves as modern or saw the period in which they lived as a modern age (Tarbuck, 2007, p340). In one context 'modern' may be understood to mean 'Ecclesiastical' as opposed to 'Classical' or 'Pagan' (Tarbuck, 2007, p340).

2.12 Modernisation as a necessary precondition for secularisation

There is a consensus amongst theorists that secularisation is the necessary corollary of a process of modernisation in society (Woodhead, 2012, p3), a process by which certain defining characteristics are brought into evidence, specifically the intellectual and cultural processes of rationalism and individualism (Buckser, 1996, p433). It is these processes which progressively diminish the legitimacy and therefore the authority of religious institutions when a rational, scientific mode of thought supplants a religious worldview (Buckser, 1996, p433) as it relates both to explanations of natural phenomena and to the basis for moral proscriptions concerning human behaviour, and to social organisation generally, therefore altering the role of institutional religion in providing an intellectual and social framework for human interaction. It is the contention that the development of reason as a guiding principle in individual decision making – using evidence derived from observation - alters the relationship of the individual to society and alters the society accordingly in terms of its relationship to organised religion. The application of logic to decisions concerning individual

and communal behaviour from the perspective of a world-view which considers there to be consistency in cause and effect such that reason may be successfully exercised in any decision making process governed by outcome results in rational individuals developing rational models of governance and rational models of social and economic activity which replace the preceding models based on religious justifications of a previous social order.

Modernisation is therefore the development of an increasingly complex means of social organisation, an increase in functional differentiation and social differentiation, the rise of individualism and egalitarianism, the growth of religious diversity, the separation of human rights from religious rectitude, the displacement of supernatural remedies by scientific-based technological solutions and the growth of a positive view of human power and potential (Bruce, 2012, p533).

As the modern state emerges, the social significance of religious institutions is correspondingly altered and as Bruce (2012) notes, there does seem to be a more than coincidental connection between modernisation and the decline in power and popularity of religion in most of the advanced industrial democracies (Bruce, 2012, p533)

The common characteristic of modernisation is therefore an expansion of the state's activities in social fields such as healthcare, welfare and education such that where churches have continued to provide social functions such as education, the specifically religious content is diminished so that the service provided differs little from that provided by state (Bruce, 2011, p503). This in turn impacts upon the individual's relationship with the institutions and with religion itself.

The analytically separable elements to religion's loss of public presence are thus the loss of social functions and loss of political power (Bruce, 2011, p503).

As Bruce (2011) notes, most liberal democracies have evolved a viable response to religious pluralism and to the increasing scope of individual liberty by distinguishing between private and public worlds so that the public sphere is at least more religiously neutral and people are increasingly tolerant of religious innovation if it occurs in private (Bruce, 2011, p503).

So in Scotland, 'heritors', the major landowners liable for public burdens such as the poor rates, road repairs, ministers' stipend, manse and glebe assessments (Bruce, 2012, p535) found their position altered when the Free Church challenge led to the Church of Scotland being forced to remove the right of heritors impose ministers and vestry and place the right 'to call' entirely in hands each congregation as a response to the schism of 1843 within the Church that created the Free Church (Bruce, 2012, p547). When the Free Church sought to replicate the parish structure Church of Scotland following schism from it, provision by middle class congregations contrasted with rural and working-class areas which were too poor or insufficiently interested to support an effective infrastructure, so that one way of thinking about secularisation, according to Bruce (2012), is to see it as a gradual expansion of the freedom to choose, with the process of modernisation first releasing ordinary people from the obligation to attend state churches, and next ending the formal role of the landowners in their position of heritor to provide a church and minister and removing any social obligation to do so due to a sense of honour (Bruce, 2012, p548), making it reasonable to assume that with fewer churches and fewer clergy Christianity becomes weaker (Bruce, 2012, p544).

2.13 Protestantism as a precondition for modernisation

Lambert (2003) considers the process of modernisation as beginning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries where the characteristic features of the modern age, rationalism and individualism enable the individual both to mentally decide and be practically enabled to select a personal sphere of social and economic activity, the origin of rationalism and

individualism being firmly rooted in the Protestant Reformation, with freedom of religious thought sparking intellectual, social and political developments from the English Revolution to the Enlightenment to the American and French Revolutions, all of which affected changes in the social structures and therefore in the social significance of religious institutions (Lambert, 2003, p64). The emphasis within Protestantism on engagement with worldly activities and the notion of salvation, however construed, as rooted in worldly activity, and evidenced by worldly success, rather than salvation through withdrawal from a sinful world – the disassociation of worldly sin and fate after death occurring as faith alone came to justify salvation - was a spur to developments from economics to science, from education to law (Lambert, 2003, p75). Every institution was subject to examination and revision to suit it to a role in building a holy community and every social and cultural realm subject to godly participation (Bellah, 1970, p67). The individual as responsible for his own process of ethical rationalisation understood that a particular morality and a particular ethical approach to behaviour was required by the individual and by society to provide the required effect for the individual and for society (Bruce, 2002, loc 173). This priesthood of all believers and the democratisation of the institutional church extended to the political world, ultimately leading to the development of the concept of progress through democracy in liberal ideology (Bellah, 1970, p72), which became a secularising force in politics in resistance to constitutionally established religion.

Indeed, the process was rooted in a return to the world-view of the Old Testament characterised by the importance placed upon the activity in the world of individuals within a people judged equally before ethical and religious law (Lambert, 2003, p65), a system rationalised by the adoption of monotheism and the exclusion of competing systems of religious law and means of relating to divine beings. Protestantism was responsible for the development of a rational world-view by removing what Berger (1967) described as the most

powerful concomitants of the sacred, those being mystery, miracle and magic (Berger, 1967, p111) and removing the presence of sacred beings and sacred forces from the world, a process extending from the renaissance rediscovery of those modes of classical thought that had not survived in Christian theology. The reasoning process which established the appropriate behaviour of an individual and the appropriate ordering of society was free from variable factors such as supernatural intervention, the inconsistent effects on society of attempts at ritual and sacramental manipulation being removed. Success and failure were established as the result of a logical, observable, predictable sequence of events, and not of random, capricious supernatural intervention (Bruce, 2002, loc 191).

Secularisation results from the Protestant culture at an intellectual level when the next rational step is taken in Protestant logic and the divine is removed as a point of reference altogether. As a community becomes a self-governing moral system with adherence to cultural norms taken for granted, morality and ethics as rationally derived absolutes become detached from beliefs about the supernatural and are given utilitarian justifications (Bruce, 2002, loc 186). Social organisations, bureaucracies governed by rules established rationally, in turn impose rational forms of behaviour upon individuals as rules are followed because of their own internal logic, and individuals are intellectually conditioned to make decisions relating to behaviour based on reason.

2.14 Protestantism as a precondition for modernisation challenged

This argument by secularisation theorists relies upon a particular construction of the nature of the Protestant Reformation and the significance of Protestant thought. As Aquaviva (1979) puts it, ‘Protestantism served as a historically decisive prelude to secularisation’ (quoted in Clark, 2012, p165). It fails firstly to appreciate that there was no single, all-encompassing intellectual movement whereby Protestantism ultimately superseded Roman Catholicism but

rather many diverse reforming initiatives within the Roman Catholic Church only a proportion of which can be characterised as Protestant (Clark, 2012, p170). According to Martin (2007) the master-narrative that has privileged the individualising potential and inner-worldly asceticism of Protestantism needs to be balanced by a reappraisal of countervailing motifs from the Counter Reformation (Martin, 2007, p144). It ignores the developments of the Counter-Reformation and indeed the existence of Roman Catholic Europe as an influence upon European thought. In fact, even the notion that prior to the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church was authoritarian and exclusive in its attitude to knowledge (Bruce, 2002, p29) is arguably one based on Nineteenth-Century anti-Catholic polemic rather than evidence (Clark, 2012, p172). Late medieval Roman Catholicism was itself quite diverse in terms of belief and practice and generally lacked centralised authority and the notion that diversity was the result of Protestant individualism is overstated (Clark, 2012, p177). Individualism was in fact highly controlled within Protestant sects which demanded high levels of conformity in social behaviour and religious belief (Clark, 2012, p172).

Nor can it be argued that Protestantism was a necessary condition for capitalism or industrialisation as the result of individualism and involvement in worldly activity. The Calvinist doctrine of predestination might even arguably be seen as having been a disincentive for economic growth with an emphasis on asceticism which destroyed the economic stimuli of expenditure on luxury. The economy of Scotland may be seen to have been less than dynamic during the 1560s when Calvinism was at its height (Clark, 2012, p172). The first leading centres of international finance were of course the Catholic cities Florence, Lucca, Siena, long before the Reformation (Clark, 2012, p170). Double-entry book-keeping originated in Genoa and Florence and Bills of exchange and commercial insurance developed in Catholic Italy in the late Thirteenth Century (Clark, 2012, p171). The first dominant centres of international trade were the Catholic ports of Pisa, Genoa and Venice

(Clark, 2012, p170). Moreover, specialisation was not the result of Protestant inspired individualism or emancipation from religious constraints, but rather the urbanisation of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, with craft names becoming hereditary by 1400 (Clark, 2012, p175)

2.15 Industrialisation as a precondition for secularisation

When other historical factors are introduced, principally the development of the experimental method and its application to manufacturing, the corresponding growth in industry, industrial society and capitalism, theories of secularisation determine that the social significance of religious institutions is likewise changed. Industrialisation alters the constituency of local communities, breaking down traditional church-going patterns as individuals move to cities without institutional religious representation. The celebration and legitimisation of local life events, a function of institutional religion in a community, cease, and simultaneously the overarching moral and religious systems decline, divorced from their community setting, the only aspects surviving being those rationally adhered to, and the practice of religion becomes a matter of personal preference rather than a fundamental part of the social system necessary for the performance of social roles in a community (Bruce, 2002, loc 143) – the marginalisation of religion to a privatised sphere (Clark, 2012, p163) - in what Stark and Lannacione characterised as a ‘supply-side’ interpretation of religious change where the availability of religious institutions determines the degree of adherence to religion itself (1994, cited in Demerath, 2007, p3). It can however be argued that even in towns and cities there were collections of small communities (Clark, 2012, p175).

2.16 Privatisation of religion

Indeed, according to secularisation theorists, it is not only the case that removing the individual from a community setting, ends the communal celebration and legitimisation of

local life events and ends the influence of institutional religion, it is the inclusion of the individual in a setting characterised by competing moral and religious conceptions that compromises the plausibility of any one system and makes adherence to any particular conception or any conception at all, a matter of choice and not a matter of social necessity (Bruce, 2002, loc 283). If ideas are no longer shared by all and have become mere beliefs then the certainty of a believer in their religion is challenged (Bruce, 2002, loc 334) and when there is competition in religious explanations for the nature of existence and reasons for it, naturalistic explanations gain precedence (Bruce, 2002, loc 361) - although it has been pointed out that individual emancipation may encourage the exploration of a variety of New Age religions (Clark, 2012, p175) - and religious views generally become confined to the internal world of the individual, the so-called 'privatisation' of religion. The popularity of spirituality at the expense of institutional forms of religion may indeed be seen as the further extension of the inwardness of the spirit anticipated by Troeltsch (2006) as representing the modern form of Christianity (Martin, 2014, p8). Luckmann states that modernisation requires individuals to live in a number of worlds each informed by its own values and logics:

> With the persuasiveness of the consumer orientation and the sense of autonomy, the individual is more likely to confront the culture and the sacred cosmos as a 'buyer'. Once religion is defined as a 'private affair', the individual may choose from the assortment of 'ultimate' meanings as he sees fit. (quoted in Bruce, 2002, loc 372).

Whilst Bell (Bruce, 2002, loc 372) has argued that privatisation of religion does not necessitate that the character of religious beliefs should change, or their extent decline, which is particularly apt if the nature of Protestantism - at least theoretically if not always in its historic forms - is to be inherently diverse, it is arguable that religious beliefs require action in the social sphere and it is only if such action were entirely in keeping with the values of society at large or indistinguishable from those values that change would not be necessitated.

The implication is that the process of secularisation is characterised by the absorption into a non-religious society of religious values where these can be disassociated from the necessity of belief in supernatural agency, as may arguably be the case in societies with a heritage of Protestantism, although this rather ignores the absence of supernatural agency within Protestantism. David Martin argues in fact that many of the secularising discourses of the present are a working out of Christian themes (Garnett et al ,2006, p158). Bruce concludes that beliefs which necessitate a distinct lifestyle require social support which privatisation of religion removes (Bruce, 2002, loc 377). Quoting Smelser, Bruce notes that a decline in personal religious belief and institutional support for religious beliefs is a 'value-added' process that cannot be reversed (Bruce, 2002, loc 608) resulting in a decline in religious action. The 1947 Mass Observation report 'A Puzzled People' found striking absence Christian knowledge as one vicar put it 'There's no doubt that the majority of people don't know what the Christian faith is' (Garnett et al ,2006, p159)

Supportive of this narrative of the process of modernisation, Brown (2009) cites the 'philosophical anthropology' of Charles Taylor, arguing that in the medieval and early-modern worlds, religious beliefs 'sank into the background', writing, 'In our public and private life of prayer, penance, devotion, religious discipline, we lean on God's existence, use it as the pivot of our action, even when we aren't formulating our belief, as I use the stairs or banister in the course of my focal action'. (Brown, 2009, p193). The process of modernisation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries moved Christian faith from the background to the foreground of the individual's identity such that, 'theology comes indexed to a personal vision, or refracted through a particular sensibility' (Brown, 2009, p194).

This meant that, in what Brown (2009) describes as the fading of coercive religion, from about 1800 religiosity became overwhelmingly discursive, with individual identity and

conception of the meaning and purpose of life being framed and reinforced by an evangelical narrative of a life story (Brown, 2009, p194). Religion moved from the background of everyday life and the framework of community existence to become a matter of conscious adoption and discussion. Brown's conclusion - that as the process of modernisation instituted the decline of institutional Christianity, intellectual change led to a suspicion of creeds and this quickly took the form of a rejection of the Christian tradition and all the associated formulaic constructions of the individual (Brown, p2009, p193) and with it the death of the culture which formerly conferred Christian identity upon people as a whole (Brown, 2009, p193) - might go too far in suggesting that contemporary Scottish society has no values or conceptions of itself derived from its cultural heritage. Nonetheless, as Bruce puts it, 'over the Twentieth Century Scotland changed from being a country in which most people had some association with organised religion into one in which the population divided radically into small groups of religious people and a majority who had no association at all with organised religion' such that, 'prospects for the conversion of the non-religious seem remote, when religion is now carried primarily by demographically or ethnically distinct populations' (Bruce, 2014, p193).

2.17 How Secularisation Theory mischaracterises the past

Of course, to suggest that the intellectual developments of the Renaissance and of the Protestant Reformation gave rise to a reordering of society within which religious institutions were reconfigured alongside government to meet the particular requirements of Protestant society, industrious and subsequently industrial, and that modern democracy and the capitalist system were a subsequent consequence, is – as considered above - a common linear narrative explanation for the development of the West – which even with the proviso that industrialisation, democracy and capitalism were adopted outside the Protestant ambit within the West is a narrative explanation which is difficult to maintain - but even if it were the case

that secularisation is the result of the sum total of these developments then secularisation theory may not apply universally to even all Christian cultures let alone non-Christian cultures where industrialisation, democracy and capitalism emerge; secularisation theory applies solely to Protestant cultures.

Moreover, if secularisation theory is premised on the declining social significance of religious institutions combining with a decline in the significance of religion to individuals, where contemporary forms of religious belief and expression are less significant to individuals and less influential in society than the previous institutional forms of belief and expression, in a linear, causal fashion, then it is suggesting firstly that at no point previously did the majority of individuals and communities ever reject an institutional religious belief system.

Naturally, the Reformation itself might be seen as a significant rejection of an institutional religious belief system, and even although Reformation scholarship as it relates to the British Isles has tended in recent years to focus on the contested and unwelcome nature of change amongst the majority, it does draw specific attention to the general ignorance relating to religious beliefs (cf Haigh, 1993) such that it is possible to question the religiosity of the population in the first place - the knowledge of Christian doctrine and the degree of devotional practice attainable by those with intelligence, education, and crucially leisure, is quite different for the majority with its own consequent conceptions of Christianity (Clark, 2012, p 167). It is easy to overstate the extent to which the past is populated by people possessed of extraordinary levels of knowledge. Keith Thomas (1971) accordingly noted widespread religious ignorance in early modern England (Garnett et al ,2006, p158). Also, the progressive and uncontested assimilation of monastic and church lands and property into the hands of the Scottish aristocracy well in advance of the Scottish Reformation might equally testify to a less than strict tendency to religious observance amongst the populace.

Rodney Stark has pointed out that that medieval Europe was characterised by anti-church and even anti-religious expression amongst the masses (1999, cited Demerath, 2007, p3) whilst Mary Douglas has noted that as religious piety and participation have never occurred with consistent depth or universality, it is quite fallacious to suggest that present participation is coming up short compared with the past where that past is mythically construed (1982, cited Demerath, 2007, p3). As Keith Thomas put it, 'We do not know enough about the religious beliefs and practices of our remote ancestors to be certain of the extent to which religious faith and practice have actually declined (Thomas 1971, quoted in Clark, 2012, p184).

Equally, if a linear, causal trend is a prerequisite for secularisation, then the presence of a long history of irreligion, the specific rejection of religion, would have to be ignored. However, the emergence of openly declared and publically sanctioned irreligion with elite and popular support in resistance to religious ideas, religious mobilisation and religious institutions is regarded as characteristic of much of European history (Cox, 2003, p204). Stemming from the French Revolution the anti-clerical, anti-theological, anti-Christian views of Thomas Paine, championed by Thomas Carlyle, Robert Taylor and Henry Hetherington, adopted as an agenda by Robert Owen in the Secular Owenite movement, developed into the intellectual basis of the 1866 National Secular Society which attracted broad support from members of the lower classes expressing alienation from a church identified as a means of establishing middle-class social respectability, followed in turn by the 1899 Rationalist and Press Association established to publish and distribute the materials of anti-religious associations when mainstream publishers and booksellers avoided such material (Campbell, 1971, p46). The British Humanist Association which emerged in 1963, did so as a means of preventing wasteful competition for members amongst anti-religious organisations by creating a common front organisation to campaign with a success which testifies to its influence, for reforms to the penal system, to civil liberties, to the laws on marriage, abortion,

euthanasia and homosexuality - although Christian organisations were involved here too - in order to achieve the humanist goal of fulfilled individuals and fulfilled societies (Campbell, 1971, p46). Irreligion has its own history which can be construed as a causal linear process, owing nothing to the social changes which secularisation theory adopts as the cause of individual and societal rejection of religious institutions and religious belief.

Furthermore whilst Bruce (2002) has argued that identification with religious institutions and religious beliefs declines because of modernisation, and Brown (2009) has argued that religion as a conscious facet of both individual and collective identity is ultimately eroded by modernisation, and indeed most studies of religion and identity follow a narrative of transition from a stable, ascribed, collective form to a dynamic, individuated and achieved form (Griel, 2007, p26), this nonetheless ignores the religious character of the associations, organisations and institutions which in Scotland at least, provide a specifically Scottish identity, in both a cultural and a political sense (McCrone, 2001, p47). In seeking to define a collective identity on which individuals also draw, consciously or otherwise, in forming personal values, and in seeking to provide values which are distinctly Scottish, as opposed to English in particular, reference is made to the underlying philosophies of the specifically Scottish education and legal systems which in turn reflect a very specific religious heritage. As Martin (2014) asserts, 'If Enlightenment had triumphed, we would by now be safely lodged in the Age of Reason. We are not' (Martin, 2014, p3).

2.18 Protestant Identity and Scottish Identity

Protestantism has been regarded variously as an expression of religious faith, or a social and cultural badge of identity (Walker, 1996, p250). As such the values of Presbyterianism present in contemporary society but rooted in their history, influence an understanding of how a secular Scotland might be construed.

Presbyterianism was a driving force behind an imperial identity which viewed Empire as a means of showcasing and enhancing Scottish talents (Walker, 1996, p250) and central to the moral outlook which encouraged Scots to meet the challenges of Empire building, missionary work, wealth creation and governance (Walker, 1996, p251) as a matter of religious duty and national duty in the period following the creation of Great Britain until the late Twentieth Century. An important part of the Scottish Protestant self-image especially by the early years of the Twentieth Century was a pride in the 'Scot-in-exile' - commonly in England - rising to top of his profession or career ladder (Walker, 1996, p251). Scottish success at a British level and at an Imperial level was presented by Protestant commentators as the result of Scottish education which was regarded as symbolic of a kind of Protestant virtue (Walker, 1996, p252): Presbyterianism liberated the Scottish mind and gave the nation a muscular intellectual temper, a view put forward in an attempt to contrast Protestantism favourably with Roman Catholicism and pejorative notions about Roman Catholic education leading to intellectual enslavement (Walker, 1996, p252). Nonetheless, the identification of the Kirk with a broad, enabling form of educational provision – the lad o'pairts - remained a staple of Scottish folklore (Walker, 1996, p251) and remained central to the conception of Scottish education and Scottish national identity.

The same is true in regard to government. Following the Union of Presbyterian Churches in October 1929, the Moderator of the United Free Church, Principal Alexander Martin, asserted Presbyterianism to be the faith of the people, stressing the virtues of democracy and distrusting the privileged and the powerful in the state. (Walker, 1996, p255). Scottish attitudes to governance were to be conceived of as Presbyterian.

The reunification of the Scottish Presbyterian churches had itself stemmed from the loss of influence caused by the divisions and dislocations of the parish system due to industrialisation and urbanisation and the divisions of the Nineteenth Century (Brown, S,

2000, p258). Presbyterianism, as Brown (2000) states, had played a major role in defining the national identity of early modern Scotland from strict, Bible-based piety to a communal culture based in the parish and the Seventeenth-Century Covenants by which the nation covenanted together under God for the defence Presbyterian Church potent national symbols (Brown, S, 2000, p258). Accordingly, the late Nineteenth-Century movement to revive the social authority of Presbyterianism and the combination in 1900 of the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church into the United Free Church which in turn began formal negotiations to reunite the Presbyterian Church of Scotland were aimed at restoring the authority in national life that the Church of Scotland had formally held as the national Church (Brown, S, 2000, p258).

The two main Presbyterian Churches pledged themselves to programmes of social reconstruction between 1916 and 1918, aimed at achieving a Church Commonwealth. The Church's social ethic was to be reflected in improving standards of living, greater social equality and increased co-operation between labour and management. In 1919 a National Mission of Rededication called for recognition of Christ's supremacy in all spheres of national life (Brown, S, 2000, p262). Presbyterian social action was to be part and parcel of Scottish life; its values were to be Scottish national values.

However in the 1950s and 1960s negotiations for reunification with the Episcopal Church led to what was termed the, 'bishops in the Kirk' issue and the popular equation in the press of 'true' Presbyterianism with the democratic state and the parallel equation of Episcopacy with Englishness, snobbery and feudal privilege: 'Presbyterianism in its store of myths and in the popular resonance of some of its distinctive features became a force for the expression of Scottish national indignation' (Walker, 1996, p257)

This in some respects reflects the racialist views of the Church of Scotland, strongly articulated in the 1920s and at that point specifically targeting Roman Catholics, that: 'The nations that are homogenous in Faith and Ideas, that have maintained unity of race...to them the Almighty had committed the highest tasks, and has granted the largest measure of success in achieving them'. In this instance, toleration of Catholics of Irish background was a sin against the covenant (Brown, S, 2000, p256). The views were expressed in May of 1923 when the committee of the General Assembly of Church of Scotland issued a report on the subject of Irish immigration and the Education Act of 1918 noting, 'alarm and anxiety', at the 'incursion' of a Roman Catholic population from Ireland, alien in race and creed, a 'menace', with a, 'very sinister meaning for the future of our race' which diminished the moral tone of society by intemperance, improvidence, Sabbath-breaking and criminal behaviour (Brown, S, 2000, p255). In 1925, John White the co-convenor of the Church and Nation Committee and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland wrote to Sir John Gilmour, the Scottish Secretary on behalf of the Church: a 'superior race' was being supplanted by an 'inferior race'. There was a protest in 1926 against the government's Catholic Relief Bill which would legalise Roman Catholic outdoor processions and a demand to restrict immigration from the Irish Free State in July 1928. (Brown, S, 2000, p264).

The national values of Scotland were thus conceived of as Presbyterian and explicitly at variance with those of the English and those of Roman Catholic immigrants.

Whether those views persisted into the late Twentieth Century is doubtful. After all, in May 1975 Thomas Winning, Archbishop of Glasgow, was invited to address General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, appealing for continued dialogue and co-operation and in 1979 there was a Roman Catholic appointment to the chair of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, regarded primarily as a seminary for training Church of Scotland ministers. The head of New College was James MacKey, priest and professor at a Jesuit University (Brown, S, 2000,

p275). In 1982 John McIntyre, Moderator of General Assembly of Church of Scotland, met the Pope, making a public acknowledgement on part of Church of Scotland that Roman Catholic Church was a Christian society deserving of respect, and that it was a major part of Scottish national life (Brown, S, 2000, p280)

A secular understanding of Scottish identity might therefore as Storrar (1990) thinks, remain Christian at best in the sense that the culture still operates within Christian, and in particular Calvinist or Presbyterian, ethical, moral and social norms (Storrar,1990,p63) if that can be demonstrated to be the case.

2.19 Summary

A decline in membership of institutional religion brought about by particular changes in society does not of itself reduce the significance of institutional religion to society as a whole if individuals retain the religious values of the institution and act in accordance with them in their social interactions. Individuals remain receptive to the voice of institutional religion as to the voice of any organisation with a role in society which speaks from the same set of values. Individuals become distanced when social values are at variance but where Protestant religion and culturally Protestant societies are concerned, values evolve through the application of reason to issues brought about by changes in social organisation and are established as values by consensus. Nor does a decline in membership at an institutional level lead to a decline in the significance of religion to the individual. If the values an individual adheres to are drawn from society and the values of society are drawn from religion then consciously or not, religion remains significant. But nor does a lack of membership terminally affect religious belief and practice because of a lack of guidance and support or through competing models challenging the authority of one model in a relativist religious milieu. In a Protestant society where the individual is responsible for his own response to

religious authority, principally in biblical scripture, and an individual response is legitimate, the issue does not arise. Nor is it then possible to claim that the religious beliefs and the expression of those beliefs is less significant than institutional expression of the beliefs. If the individual acts as an agent in society then his beliefs and their expression impact upon society. The issue of significance is a matter of scale and to say that the religious beliefs of the modern period are less significant than those of the past would require evidence of more widespread religious belief and expression having existed than the evidence can in fact produce.

There is no historical trend of decline in the significance of religion within society. There is instead change in the position and nature of religion within society, and it is principally the change in the nature of religion which precludes the existence of a trend of decline in the significance of religion within society: by purporting to be an explanatory theory for developments in the position of religion in culturally Protestant society, secularisation theory ignores the impact of Protestantism's inherent nature as a constantly adaptive and adapting force in relation to society. Secularisation theory requires religion to be an independent element within a society that changes around it and forces its decline, but religion is a dynamic an integral force in the societies they seek to explain. A consideration of the position, nature and significance of religion in Scotland at any particular period cannot be considered as part of a trend of religious decline. The consideration must be of religious change, the nature of that change and the significance of it for the practice of Religious Education as a discipline. The religious and cultural context for the curriculum over the period is therefore one where religious observance declines but where religious values, Protestant and specifically Presbyterian values, are regarded in public discourse as national values. It is within that context that the literature discussing curriculum documents and the documents themselves must be considered.

Chapter 3: Contemporary Literature

3.1 Overview

This chapter will examine literature contemporary with the production of curriculum documents as a means of providing a context to the documents in order to extract the meaning of the documents as contemporaries would have understood them, looking for explanations of the purpose of Religious Education as a curriculum area and of the nature of the curriculum, the rationale for the subject. In doing so it is noteworthy that there is virtually no literature beyond that which is in fact contemporary and where non-contemporary literature exists it is not concerned with rationale. The contemporary texts examined here are Whaling (1980), Darling (1980) and Kincaid (1985) and the non-contemporary texts examined are Nixon (2009, 2012) and Matemba (2015), with the work of Gilfillan, Aiken and Phipps (2013) on the requirements in schools for Religious Observance as an extension of Religious Education also considered. The limited number of relevant texts is significant as a reflection of the limited engagement with the developing rationale of the subject.

3.2 The limited scope of contemporary literature

3.2.1 Contemporary literature offers a description of the practical usefulness of the curriculum documents rather than an analysis

A survey of literature which discusses those guidance documents for Religious Education which form the basis of this study and which discusses developments in the subject, reveals that discussions relating to key documents and specific developments in Religious Education are in the main contemporary with those documents and developments and in no sense form a coherent picture of developments over time. Rather, they present an opinion as to the practical usefulness of particular documents at particular moments in time, and do not represent a discussion as to the broader implications of the documents and the developments

they represent over time. At best they describe rather than analyse changes in the rationale of the subject.

3.2.2 Contemporary literature surveys the development of method within the subject rather than the rationale of the subject

Historical surveys which do seek to present a coherent picture of developments over time, as for example by Nixon (2009, 2012), have as their primary concern the desire to elucidate the development of method in the subject in the practical sense, rather than to consider the rationale of the subject itself as it relates to the corresponding issue of interpretation and implementation.

3.2.3 The development of the Personal Search for Meaning, Value and Purpose as a distinctive rationale for the subject

Form the literature there emerges merely an incidental and arguably undeveloped observation concerning the development of the rationale of the subject as a product of the particular cultural setting. The development of the 'Personal Search' element in Religious Education, and its evolution as a rationale for the subject, may be seen as a distinctive product of this particular setting which could not have developed outside that cultural context, a conclusion which may be drawn from the analysis of the curriculum documents, but which is not developed in the literature where the emphasis is on the development of a method for undertaking the 'Personal Search'.

3.2.4 The lack of literature specific to the Scottish context

Nixon points out that a range of writers have analysed the impact of social, religious and intellectual factors on the development of new approaches and rationales for Religious Education but that this has not occurred in a specifically Scottish context where the

relationship of religion to education is distinctive, but rather has focussed on England and Wales or considers the UK in a broad sense (Nixon, 2009, p167). Nixon cites Roger's (1990) observation that Scottish educational policy does often follow that of England and Wales. There is a chronological and thematic closeness in the 1870 (England) and 1872 (Scotland) Education Acts and the Durham Report (1970) and Working Paper 36 (1971) and Scotland's Millar Report (1972) share many conclusions originating as they do from very similar socio-cultural and academic influences and a tradition of educationalists arguing for a child-centred, non-confessional approach to Religious Education, seeking to ground the subject on educational grounds (Durham Report 1970, p59), proposing an exploratory rather than an evangelical approach (Nixon, 2009, p168). Nonetheless, the actual policy outcomes in Scotland have been demonstrably unique in the British context and analysis of the distinctiveness of the rationale for Religious Education in Scotland is absent from the literature. The claim to originality in this study is the presentation of such an analysis.

3.3 'Moral and Religious Education in Scottish Schools. Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland (1972),' (known as, The Millar Report) discussed in literature

The Millar Report of 1972 is discussed in works from the 1980s but only in works which focus primarily on the content of the 'Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education. Bulletin 1. A Curricular Approach to Religious Education (1978)' (SCCORE Bulletin 1) and, 'Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education. Bulletin 2. Curriculum Guidelines for Religious Education (1981),' (SCCORE Bulletin 2), which emerged from recommendations in the Millar report that a national group be convened to study and develop the curriculum (Whaling, 1980, p18) and then in the following century by Nixon (2009, 2012) in relation to the SCCORE bulletins and Curriculum for Excellence.

3.3.1 Religious Education as Christian Bible study at the time of the Millar Report

Darling (1980) notes that the Millar Report documents a poverty of provision, recording that in 1972, 51% of schools used no textbook other than the Authorised Version of the Bible and that in only 2% of schools was there any provision for pupils to discuss their own problems within the context of Religious Education. In only 9% of schools was there provision for 12 and 13 year olds to study religions other than Christianity, with a figure of 36% providing for 16 and 17 year olds. This represented a traditional style and approach to lessons, although in 9% of schools there was no Religious Education at all, with a figure of 23% of schools failing to provide the required lessons for 16 and 17 year olds. Darling, in seeking to contextualise this situation in the teaching of Religious Education, notes the comment by historian James Scotland in reference to the state of provision in the nineteenth century that, 'In too many schools the Bible period dwindled into useful time for daily administrative tasks or at best a perfunctory gabble through the Gospels' (Darling, 1980, p14). Of course, this was not an acceptable situation in the first instance since the 1872, 1918, 1929, 1962, 1969 Education Acts, and subsequently the 1980 act, imposed a statutory duty on schools to provide Religious Education to all children in public education (Matemba, 2015, p73). The suggested curriculum framework contained in national guidelines was a development of the findings of the Millar Report, although schools were at liberty whether to use these or not (Matemba, 2015, p73).

3.3.2 The move away from a confessional subject in the light of the development of the liberal, critical tradition of Christian theology

Whaling notes that the Millar Report recorded changes in society that rendered redundant the notion that Religious Education and Religious Observance in schools were extensions of the

work of the Church of Scotland set against a background of a society universally accepting of Christianity as part of the fabric of life, noting apathy and materialism and the appearance of religions other than Christianity through the influence of immigration and reporting from abroad in the media (Whaling, 1980, p18). Nixon highlights the Millar Report's conclusion that alongside secularism and multi-culturalism, new educational models such as the views of Piaget and Goldman on the need for a child-centred approach and the influence of twentieth-century Biblical liberal theology and scholarship, necessitated change in the rationale of Religious Education (Nixon, 2012, p3 & p9). New thinking and action was needed to alter what Nixon has termed, a crisis in the classroom (Nixon, 2009, p167). Specifically, 'The confessional Religious Instruction approach delivered previously by well-meaning non-specialists was failing to meet the needs of an increasingly secular, globally aware and multi-cultural pupil population' (Nixon, 2009, p167) Nixon's emphasis though, is on philosophical method in the subject emerging naturally from the liberal critical tradition of Christianity to which the Millar Report sought to respond amongst the other societal and educational changes listed (Nixon, 2012, p8). He does however note that Religious Education would continue on the basis of locally determined 'want and usage', considering the implication that if schools were to continue to reflect religious ethos of their surrounding environments, then the continuance of a confessional Religious Education was expected, citing the comment of Bruce that schools did indeed reflect the religious standpoint of their communities but that is why they ceased to provide a confessional subject in the absence of safeguards (Bruce, 2002, p142, cited in Nixon, 2009, p166). He is not explicit in drawing out the distinction between the discontinuance of a specifically Christian confessional form of Religious Education and a form of the subject more encompassing of other religious viewpoints, which nonetheless seeks to develop a religious belief and as such is an important aspect of the developing rationale of the subject.

3.3.3 The move away from a confessional subject towards personal development or 'personal quest'

Kincaid (1985) highlighted that the report recommended that the aims of Religious and Moral Education must now be justified on educational grounds and should therefore help pupils towards maturity by promoting self-understanding and developing good relations with others (Kincaid, 1985, p40). The aims were now to be construed as directed towards personal development, to build character and improve the quality of a young person's response to life; the main concern of Religious Education, as expressed in the report, was, 'to encourage him [the pupil] to develop that spirit with which he is equipped to face up to the whole complex business of being human' (1972, cited Kincaid, 1985, p40). Nixon considered this as resulting in Religious Education becoming a non-confessional 'personal quest' (SED 1972:89) allowing pupils to explore their own responses to the need for meaning, value and purpose in life, delivered by teachers specialising in this endeavour (Nixon, 2009, p167). The significance of the development is once again judged to lie in the 'non-confessional' nature of this 'quest' rather than in the emphasis on the assertion of a need to ascribe a meaning, value and purpose to human life as the aim of the subject in the first place.

3.3.4 The distinctiveness of Scottish education resulting in the application of the philosophical method within Religious Education

Accordingly, Nixon seeks to present the significance of the changes instituted by the Millar Report in the light of three traditions noted by Osborne (1968) as key to understanding changes in Scottish education: the academic tradition led to the persistence of a broad liberal curriculum (also argued by Paterson, 2008), the democratic voice sought to ensure egalitarianism of access to education (also argued by Davie, 1961), and the transmission of culture (also argued by Paterson, 2008) (Nixon, 2012, p1). In this respect Scottish education

served an important role as a preserver of identity in the face of possible assimilation into the English education system (Anderson, 2008, cited in Nixon, 2012, p1). From 1707 the Presbyterianism Church became in effect the national Parliament so far as school education was concerned (Paterson, 2000, cited in Nixon, 2012, p2) and as such the influence of Church of Scotland can be discerned in curricular guidelines for Religious Education provided from 1929 to 1970 by the Scottish Joint Committee on Religious Education which itself represented a joining of the Church of Scotland and the Educational Institute of Scotland (Osborne, 1968, p126, cited in Nixon, 2012, p2). The 1872 Education Act which set up school boards and the Scotch Education Department was created from a conviction on the part of both churchmen and politicians that a loss of fiscal influence would necessitate no parallel diminishment of theological influence (Nixon, 2012, p2). The result of this was the preponderance of philosophy over other subjects, making the education system in Scotland so different from that found in England and allowing pupils and students to navigate and make sense of other subject areas offered. (Davie, 1961, p13,cited in Nixon, 2012, p2).

Similarly, in the move to distance Religious Education from confessional Religious Instruction initiated by the Millar Report, Nixon considers Millar as representing a move away from authoritarian approaches towards a more democratic pedagogy, a stance itself part of a lineage of thinkers who advocated a model of educational aims focussed on developing autonomous reasoning, self-regulation, problem solving abilities and dialogic skills, with education centred on the free exploration of the world and experiential learning (Nixon, 2009, p187). Nixon does not consider similarities between programmes of Religious Instruction and a search for meaning, value and purpose using religion as a source, or that this is the distinctive element of Scottish education, focussing instead on the notion that philosophical method is the distinctive factor.

3.3.5 The' Personal Search' method as a distinctive approach to understanding and empathy developing in opposition to an objective or value-neutral method aimed at addressing an increasingly secular or pluralistic society

Most significantly, in Millar the recognition that the neutral presentation of the phenomena of religion was not, in itself, desirable as it led to relativism and a lack of engagement, resulted in the development of a 'personal search' approach aimed at allowing pupils to develop understanding and empathy for the views of others through comparison and analysis with their own experiences of the human condition (Nixon, 2009, p189). The distinctiveness of this approach to creating understanding and empathy is not noted by Nixon. Likewise, the distinctiveness of seeking to bring the subject to life and encouraging pro-social thinking by inviting critical reflection on religious and philosophical beliefs is not considered. Nor is the incongruity with the focus in Curriculum for Excellence on generating tolerance of diverse religious beliefs, which is not necessarily the result of promoting an open critique of religion. Rather, Nixon notes that Religious Education should therefore go well beyond simple knowledge and understanding (Nixon, 2009, p189).

3.4 'Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education. Bulletin 1. A Curricular Approach to Religious Education (1978),' (known as, SCCORE Bulletin 1),' and, 'Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education. Bulletin 2. Curriculum Guidelines for Religious Education (1981),' (known as, SCCORE Bulletin 2), compared in literature

According to Darling the 1960s marked the point where neglect of Religious Education could no longer be ignored; the curriculum development movement with such an impact upon subjects other than Religious Education rendered the position of Religious Education as

conspicuous (Darling, 1980, p14). This was the reason for the publication of the SCCORE Bulletins.

3.4.1 The influence of the SCCORE committee due to their role as both educational practitioners and agents of the Scottish Education Department

Darling (1980) considered that there were grounds for thinking that SCCORE Bulletin 1 would have a significant impact upon classroom practice. This conclusion though, does not derive from an analysis of the content of the Bulletin, but rather from the nature of the body which produced it and the relationship of practitioners to it.

Darling points out that strictly speaking the Secretary of State for Scotland was prohibited by statute from interfering with matters relating to Religious Education (Darling, 1980, p16). However, Darling considers that SCCORE, as an offshoot of the Scottish Education Department Consultative Committee on the Curriculum which advised the Secretary of State, carried the authority of the government and the department when addressing itself directly to education authorities and schools (Darling, 1980, p16). The Scottish education system as a system where educational initiatives were centralised, created an environment of professional dependence upon the part of practitioners such that any framework which presented ideas endorsed by those within, or in close contact with, the Scottish Education Department, would receive careful attention by those practitioners (Darling, 1980, pp14-16).

Moreover, it might be thought that recommendations made by those who regarded curriculum development as their career as professional generators of ideas, would have been resisted by sceptical practitioners of Religious Education. The SCCORE committee however, was composed of people working in, or in constant touch with, schools, and was more likely to have produced recommendations that could be easily implemented in schools [teachers in

Scotland received and delivered the curriculum practiced in schools, rather than developing it themselves] and would not be of an experimental nature. As such, practitioners were more likely to take note of the proposals (Darling, 1980, p16).

In the same vein, the 1979 Report to the General Assembly by the Church of Scotland Committee on Education had complained that SCCORE had not consulted the Church. According to Darling, this made it more likely that the SCCORE proposals would be seen as determined by educational rather than doctrinal concerns and would therefore be more acceptable (Darling, 1980, p17).

3.4.2 SCCORE 1 presenting Religious Education as a knowledge-based subject in a secular and pluralistic society where understanding and experience of religion were not the primary goal

Whaling's 1980 critique of SCCORE Bulletin 1 regarded the committee's work in a positive light due to its scope and flexibility in accepting the reality of a new social context of pluralism and secularism and addressing that context (Whaling, 1980, p21). Whaling considered Bulletin 1 as a relevant contemporary document as it took onboard the challenge of applying the decisions of the past, meaning the compulsory nature of Religious Education specified in the Education Acts, to the situation in the present. Furthermore, he approved of the lead the committee were taking in providing practical help to teachers in the classroom. He also agreed with what he saw to be the educationally sound decision to give due weight to knowledge within the curriculum and with the examples provided for teachers (Whaling, 1980, p21).

Nixon considered this the response of a neo-liberal educational environment impacted by secularisation, where teachers exhibited philosophical objections to organised religion (Nixon, 2009, 181). Whaling considered knowledge to be the basic dimension of Religious

Education which might well give pupils access to an understanding and experience of religion, but was not the primary educational goal. The inculcation of religious beliefs, the induction of religious experience, the conveyance of religious practice and the importing of religious consequences were areas of importance but ones which lay outside the classroom (Whaling, 1980, p21).

Indeed, in this respect Whaling's interpretation of Bulletin 1 was perhaps in error and this study will find statements within the curriculum documents testifying to the importance of such aims within the curriculum, including the stated importance of experience as a form of education, and their further development within the 5-14 National Guidelines and the Curriculum for Excellence.

Matemba (2015) indeed points out that despite this veneer of 'secular' education, the reality is more complex. Headteachers belonging to Christian Evangelical Alliance for Scotland are enthusiastic towards the subject (Matemba, 2015, p80) whereas, citing Mike Bottery (2007), headteachers less sympathetic to Religious Education implement aspects of policy aligned to their ontological positions. (Matemba, 2015, p72). Indeed, Matemba, citing Lall (2007, p5) notes that in fact policy authors, 'cannot control the meaning of their texts even if they do try' (Lall, 2007, p5,cited in Matemba, 2015, p71) and further that policy outcomes have been known to be notoriously different from the original intention of its authors (Bacchi, 2004,cited in Matemba, 2015, p71). Matemba considers that how schools implement the subject in practice has not received much attention and that the use of 'open' national guidelines in the creation of the Scottish curriculum results in mismatches between policy and practice (Matemba, 2015, p70). In light of further developments, Matemba notes the conclusion of the 2011 publication by the Scottish Government, 'Teaching Scotland's Future: Report of a review of teacher education in Scotland pp71-72', criticising teachers'

professional standards and describing an implementation gap between educational policy and classroom practice (Matemba, 2015, p70).

Matemba concludes however that the Religious Education currently offered in schools, is indeed essentially a neo-confessional, Christian, Protestant, Religious Education curriculum with a strong moral component but also including multi-faith study and is one of eight core curriculum areas. (Matemba, 2015, p73). Furthermore, 'RE is about the teaching of religion and how religious beliefs inform our present way of life, not only in the historical and theological sense but spiritually as well' (Matemba, 2015, p83).

3.4.3 The search for an educational justification for the subject as the context for the production of SCCORE 1 and SCCORE 2

Whaling's criticisms centre on the perceived failure of Bulletin 1 to deal with the conceptual problems at the heart of Religious Education. The importance of dealing with practical matters and the strengthening of the position of the subject were prioritised over the development of a rationale, the production of any coherent theory as to what Religious Education actually is and is intended to achieve as a subject (Whaling, 1980, p21). In particular he noted the absence of any stated criteria for the selection of the five essentials of Religious Education: transcendence, communication, relationship, response and meaning. There was no attempt to deal with the meaning of religious phenomena or religious faith for religious people or to explain how faith, the basic element of religion, can be communicated to the pupil. Whaling makes a specific query concerning the position of Humanism and Communism and how the inclusion of such non-religious views could relate to the essential of transcendence. On similar grounds Whaling criticises the suggestions for religions other than Christianity that may be studied as ignoring the opportunity to study non-monotheistic traditions. He also criticises the lack of guidance as to the weight to be given to the teaching

of these religions and the manner in which they should be taught. Equally, he questions the lack of guidance as to how Christianity is to be taught such as to be ecumenical, universal and holistic and not sectarian or purely Bible-based (Whaling, 1980, p22).

In this vein Matemba also notes that without further clarification current Religious Education bases two-thirds of the curriculum on Christianity in most schools in a survey conducted by the author (Matemba, 2015, p79) while schools consider 'other religions' to include, Celtic, Druidism, Animism and Wicca, and the first two years of secondary school are dominated by 'non-religious' topics such as, 'the Simpsons and morality', 'festivals of the dead', 'Native Americans', 'Australian aborigines' and 'Humanism', which may be at odds with policy dating from SCCORE 1 onwards, but nonetheless the result of an interpretation of its requirements: one survey participant noted that, 'if we are committed to the Personal Search approach this continued apartheid of religions undermines the subject fundamentally' (Matemba, 2015, p81).

Kincaid's analysis (1985), which is a work similarly concerned with presenting a consideration of the immediate practical usefulness of SCCORE Bulletin 1 and SCCORE Bulletin 2, and not with the broader implications for the future, does have the virtue of contextualising the position of the documents it considers as they relate to developments in Religious Education within both the UK and Scotland and considers the significance of both Bulletins for that particular period.

The initial point made by Kincaid is that when Bulletin 1 is related to the research conducted during this period by the Schools Council in England and presented in its Working Paper 36, it presents little to advance the debate on Religious Education (Kincaid, 1985, p41). Making a similar point, Nixon notes the existence of a crisis across the UK relating to the position and nature of Religious Education during the 1960s and 70s which produced Durham Report of

1970 and the highly influential work of Ninian Smart which all had an influence upon Scotland (Nixon, 2009, p167). The significant difference in the Scottish situation, which makes the Scottish context unique and demonstrates the importance of the content and methodology outlined in SCCORE Bulletins 1 and 2, was that main focus of debate concerning Religious Education in Scotland was the means by which the subject could justify its existence in the school curriculum (Kincaid, 1985, p41).

Religious Education was not the only subject to allow pupils to consider fundamental questions or relate to the pupils' personal problems. SCCORE justified the subject in terms of its contribution to human growth and development. It provided a distinctive framework in which pupils could focus on fundamental questions and personal problems and presented religion as a distinctive domain of knowledge which provided a means to interpret personal experience and substantiate values. It also stressed the need to understand the motivating force of religion in creative work such as art, music and literature (Kincaid, 1985, p40). So too though, did programmes of social education, the social subjects and English and there was therefore no necessity for Religious Education as a separate subject on these grounds. The significance of SCCORE Bulletin 1 was that it introduced, or articulated, distinctive features of Religious Education. Bulletin 1 listed five essential elements of Religious Education representing the elements common to all religions. By SCCORE's reckoning these were: transcendence, communication, relationships, response and meaning derived from the nature religion itself. This formed a framework within which teachers could select content and determine the objectives of a programme of Religious Education (Kincaid, 1985, p41).

Nixon noted that the Munn Report (SED, 1977) was also a key document in establishing the educational credentials of Religious Education as a separate mode of learning within the curriculum, suggesting that curricular changes reflect the demands of society, the

psychological needs of learners and the epistemological claims of the various fields of knowledge (subjects) (Nixon, 2012, p3).

3.4.4 The limited impact of SCCORE 1

A positive short-term benefit resulting from the publication of Bulletin 1 was the curriculum designed by a Jordanhill team in 1981 based on the distinctive features described by SCCORE. It produced units with intermediate objectives, suggested content and a required level of achievement; the resulting units were easily understood by practitioners and facilitated teaching in the subject: a balance was struck between introducing the phenomena of religion to pupils and encouraging them in their own search for meaning, values and purpose (Kincaid, 1985, p41).

According to Kincaid, this was essentially the sole influence of Bulletin 1 within the teaching profession; most young teachers of Religious Education who had been trained in the 1980s were unaware of the distinctive features of the report (Kincaid, 1985, p42). Kincaid may have meant that the report's conceptualisation of Religious Education was passed on to trainees by teacher educators who saw no need to outline the history of the development of the subject and that therefore new teachers remained unaware of how the curriculum had changed over time, indicating a significant influence, or he may have meant that the report was ignored, but it is not clear. The former seems unlikely and Kincaid seems to mean that the report was of little value in respect of classroom practice, divorced from issues of conceptualising the subject and producing a rationale from which a curriculum would be formed.

The reason for such indifference lay in the fact that while SCCORE sought to justify the position of the subject through the articulation of distinctive features, practitioners in the late 1970s were more interested in debating the future shape of the subject in terms of whether the content of Religious Education should be existential or dimensional, with particular reference

to the teaching of Christianity (Kincaid, 1985, p42). Teachers were more interested in issues of methodology and how to teach an ever expanding degree of content while keeping the subject in touch with the interests and concerns of pupils and Bulletin 1 did not appear to address this issue in respect of Christianity and other religions.

Consequently, practitioners debated the dimensional approach where the phenomena of the particular religions being studied were given proper attention; this approach could also allow pupils to question the material and respond to it. Contrastingly they debated the existential approach which focused primarily on ensuring that the teaching of Christianity and other religions helped inform young people in a way which assisted them in fashioning their own response to issues relating to their own existence and life-experience; this approach could also utilise phenomenology as a way of providing exemplars of such response (Kincaid, 1985, p42).

The broader implications and significance of the position of Bulletin 1 within the chronology of the development of Religious Education are not discussed; to do so would require contextualisation within societal changes as well as changes in attitudes within the Religious Education community and indeed the benefit of more considerable hindsight than that available in 1985.

3.4.5 The presentation by SCCORE 2 of a further development of the 'Personal Search' as a response to a secular and pluralistic society

Kincaid notes that SCCORE Bulletin 2 emerged in 1982 as a response to the aforementioned debate concerning approaches to Religious Education and gave prominence to the search for meaning, value and purpose by pupils. The 'Personal Search' (SOED, 1992) approach developed in Scotland alongside the humanistic and interpretative responses elsewhere in the UK, in what Nixon argues was an attempt to lend Religious Education legitimacy in a

pluralistic and increasingly secular society (Nixon, 2012, p6). Pupils should be able to 'evaluate' a belief or belief system in terms of its 'internal coherence', 'adequacy as an exploratory system', 'self consistency', 'consistency with other knowledge, beliefs and convictions' and the 'ability to meet objections' p12 (Nixon, 2009, p189). Religion was to be understood in phenomenological terms, accepting that the phenomena within religions were the result of human experiences; the subject was to enable pupils to explore the nature and meaning of existence; and it was to encourage the development of a consistent set of beliefs, attitudes and practices (Kincaid, 1985, p43). The significance particularly of this latter aim is not highlighted by Kincaid whose concern is with the practical significance of the introduction of two sets of objectives: knowledge, understanding and evaluation of religions and other stances for living; and knowledge, understanding and evaluation of the pupil's search for meaning, value and purpose. The inclusion of the search for meaning, value and purpose not stressed by Kincaid is nonetheless clearly crucial to an understanding of the purpose of the subject. The significant inclusion of 'other stances for living' is also passed over as the significance in terms of practical implementation in the classroom is the failure of Bulletin 2 to explain how to combine these two elements (Kincaid, 1985, p43). The issue for Kincaid is the need to indicate to teachers how they were to present religions as worthy of consideration in their own right while helping pupil's in their search for a personalised response to the need to find meaning, value and purpose in life (Kincaid, 1985, p43).

A valuable contribution is made by Kincaid in citing the content of an unpublished working document produced by SCCORE in 1983 and made available only to participants of the National Course held in Dundee College in April of that year. The document seeks to reconcile the apparently conflicting priorities of a study of particular religions and the search for personal meaning, values and purpose; meaning, value and purpose are transformed from objectives into concepts within religion which can therefore by used to examine all aspects of

content of a study of a religion as both religion and the pupil's own search are each a form of the human search for meaning, values and purpose (Kincaid, 1985, p43). At the course, the teacher John More presented a curriculum based on these ideas, premised on the belief that religion is concerned with the human need for a sense of identity and a sense of place. The key principle was to ensure that the pupils' search led to a dialogue with the religions studied and that the study of the religions drew out the human experiences which gave rise to the religion. As an example in More's study of Buddha and Muhammad, there was less stress on facts relating to beliefs and practices and more emphasis on helping pupils to understand the ways in which these individuals attempted to come to terms with the particular human problems and situations with which they were confronted (Kincaid, 1985, p43).

Nixon in contrast, regards the guidelines for Religious Education provided by the Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education in 1978, 1981 and 1982 (Bulletin 3 unpublished) merely as evidence of an increasingly philosophical approach. He notes for example, non-religious views should be studied and with regard to the skills outlined, Bulletin 2 advocates that pupils evaluate belief systems in terms of their 'internal coherence, self-consistency and ability to meet objections' (p12) which according to Nixon echoes definitions of philosophy provided by Wittgenstein (2001) who viewed philosophy as logical clarification of thoughts (Nixon, 2009, p171).

3.4.6 The utilisation by SCCORE 2 of the 'Personal Search' to enable the development of beliefs

For Nixon, Religious Education has followed the fourfold development of Hull (1992) in which Religious Education moves from the confessional to the multi-religious, to the child-centred, to a dialogic approach. In the 'Personal Search' pupils develop their own metaphysics vis-a-vis the representation of a range of worldviews. This is accomplished by

using a range of critical thinking skills, discussion and debate (Nixon, 2012, p3). Such skills, Nixon believes, are manifest in Religious Education policy documents since 1972 with the best example of curricular guidance being included in the Scottish Central Committee on Religious Education Bulletin 2 (SED 1981, cited in Nixon, 2012, p3). The aim of Religious Education here is, 'to enable pupils develop a consistent set of beliefs', and, 'to test them in the light of reason and experience and the evidence of the great traditions' (SED 1981, p3,cited in Nixon, 2012, p3). Nixon considers that from this point Religious Education thoroughly develops certain skills beyond simple knowledge and understanding. For example, pupils should be able to evaluate a belief system in terms of 'internal coherence', 'adequacy as an explanatory system', 'self consistency', 'consistency with other knowledge, beliefs and convictions' and 'ability to meet objections' (SED 1981, p12, cited in Nixon, 2012, p3).

3.5 The Millar Report, the SCCORE Bulletins, and, 'Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland, National Guidelines, Religious and Moral Education 5-14 (1992),' (known as, 5-14 National Guidelines), compared in literature.

3.5.1 The introduction by the Miller Report of the idea of applying a philosophical method of analysis to religion

A similar look at the impact of the documents on the method adopted within the classroom is contained within Nixon's study of the Millar Report, the SCCORE Bulletins and the 5-14 National Guidelines (Nixon, 2009). Nixon draws attention to a definition of philosophy as being a tool for examining fundamental concepts and for explaining universal questions by means of rational assessment (Nixon, 2009, p171). He then seeks to demonstrate the developing presence of philosophical method within Religious Education over time. The

Millar report, by placing an emphasis on the existential questions posed by pupils and steering away from a study of prescribed answers to prescribed questions, adopts a Socratic approach which may be seen in classrooms today (Nixon, 2009, p171). A study of the Millar Report may not concur with the conclusion that Religious Education was to be free from prescribed questions and answers. Indeed, Scottish National Qualifications denote religious morality as 'Religious Authority' and make explicit reference to heteronymous native religious morality as opposed to ethical principles derived autonomously, associating religion with external authority rather than independent judgement. (Nixon, 2009, p186). Nixon however is concerned with the introduction of a particular method of teaching and is seeking to demonstrate that the approach was used in part not that it was the sole method adopted in the subject.

3.5.2 The proposal by SCCORE 2 that a philosophical method of analysis be applied to the evaluation of belief systems

The significance of the introduction of the study of non-religious views in SCCORE Bulletin 2 is noted not in terms of the social context or in the context of the developing rationale of the subject, but in terms of its implied reliance on philosophical method. Bulletin 2 called for belief systems to be evaluated in terms of their internal coherence, self-consistency and their ability to meet objections, which is a philosophical method of analysis (Nixon, 2009, p171).

3.5.3 The necessity of a philosophical method of analysis for undertaking the 'Personal Search' for Meaning, Value and Purpose

The 5-14 National Guidelines (SOED, 1992) also sanctioned the study of non-religious views, many of which can be described as philosophical such as humanism (Nixon, 2012, p3). The same approach is seen in the 5-14 National Guidelines where pupils are to be encouraged to consider the claims of religious traditions alongside their own and to examine

non-religious attempts to deal with the great existential questions; the philosophical method is deemed to be at the heart of the personal search for meaning, values and purpose (Nixon, 2009, p172). The Personal Search approach to Religious Education was formally recognised when it was made one of organising strands of 5-14 RE National Guidelines (1992) and the Curriculum for Excellence (2006) recommends that Personal Search should permeate all areas of Religious Education. Nixon argues that we therefore we see within non-denominational Religious Education in Scotland the lineage towards democratic, problem-based, exploratory and experiential learning (Nixon, 2009, p189).

3.5.4 The debate over an objective and neutral form of Religious Education with a phenomenological understanding of religion and its rejection in Scotland

The other literature concerning itself with the period in question and of use in contextualising the current study is equally concerned with method in Religious Education and primarily with the debate from the late 1960s onwards which concerned itself with the issue of phenomenology as an approach to the subject.

It was noted (Kincaid, 1985, p43) that SCCORE Bulletin 2 sought to address aspects of the debate over phenomenology by including a phenomenological understanding of religion as an aim alongside an exploration of the nature and meaning of existence and the development of belief. This contrasted with the aims of SCCORE Bulletin 1 which was being composed at the time of the debate but aimed to allow pupils to identify religion as an area of human experience which would enable an exploration of questions about the nature and meaning of existence and the answers afforded by religion (Whaling, 1980, p19).

The wider debate was influenced by the work of Ninian Smart. Arguably this extended to the inclusion of phenomenology as an aspect of the approach recommended in SCCORE Bulletin

2 but clearly within the Scottish context the aims of the subject diverged considerably from those required of a purely phenomenological approach. O'Grady (2009, cited Barnes, 2009, p71) states that while Smart allowed for a method distinct from a purely phenomenological approach which included critical enquiry into the nature and assessment of religious truth-claims, this was only within the context of University level study; in his Working Paper 36, Smart specifically did not endorse such an enquiry for pupils in schools, which is a distinct difference with the approach in Scotland. Working Paper 36: Religious Education in Secondary Schools, produced by the Schools Council in 1971, is claimed as a central tenet of modern British Religious Education (Barnes, 2009, p64). The Schools Council Secondary project on Religious Education, under the direction of Smart, sought to introduce an objective form of Religious Education (Barnes, 2001, p318) which has been characterised as a means of fostering attitudes of toleration, social cohesion and respect for persons – an approach which can arguably be seen in the 5-14 National Guidelines and in Curriculum for Excellence – through emphasis on the independent truth and virtue of each major religion (Barnes, 2009, p69). The focus was on transforming the teaching of Religious Education into a disinterested study of religion that appealed to the nature of religion and did not seek to interest itself in establishing notions of 'truth' (Barnes, 2001, p317).

The argument arose as a reaction to the existing concept of Religious Education as having a confessional nature. If Religious Education had in the past been regarded as a nurturing of the pupils into the religious traditions and beliefs concerning which there was unanimity within society; but was transformed by a pluralistic society into a means of preparing pupils to take an informed and thoughtful part in a pluralistic society (Hull, 1984,pp45-48); then Smart's view that to approach Religious Education in a neutral, non-confessional, manner aiming to advance understanding of religion and promote tolerance, the phenomenological approach was the method to adopt (Barnes, 2009, p317). It is worth emphasising that Religious

Education in Scotland did not embrace this method or conceptualisation of the subject with the completeness that it is suggested the rest of the UK did (Barnes, 2009, p69). The phenomenological approach is now regarded as highly controversial and apt to present idealised versions of world religions bereft of any consideration of the differences and ambiguities present amongst adherents of each religion (Barnes, 2001, p318). The approach came to be seen as simply a means for comparing and contrasting a variety of religious belief systems which in practice meant the comparison in classrooms of ritual practices with little or no epistemological or ontological questioning (Conroy and McKinney, 2010, p191). In contrast, it will be argued that in Scotland a critical element in Religious Education developed whilst the debate over phenomenology was current, due to the distinct aim of the subject to develop critical reflection for the purpose of fostering belief.

3.6 The development of the Curriculum for Excellence (2011) discussed in literature

3.6.1 The development of thinking skills to undertake the 'Personal Search' for Meaning, Value and Purpose

To Nixon the significance of the emphasis in Curriculum for Excellence on thinking skills, and where, as he puts it, religions and worldviews are placed equally and neutrally alongside each other before children who are beginning to develop a sense of their own views about life, lies in the need to offer children skills in logic, consideration of evidence and reasoning (Nixon, 2012, p6). Indeed, 'philosophers (at least some of them) appear to me to think that most pupils can find peace and happiness through becoming more rational and logical beings' (Nixon, 2012, p4). For Nixon the latest technological developments highlight the lack of relevance to ethical discourse of responses based on ancient revelation, which lends impetus to the attempt to find judgment elsewhere than in religion with the aim of steering the human

enterprise through the technological challenges of modernity (Nixon, 2012, p7) emphasising both a need to consider the meaning, value and purpose of human life and the need to develop a method for doing so.

Indeed, the emphasis on values and morality is also evident in wider developments within Scottish education. Nixon states that Curriculum for Excellence places the development of 'pro-social' values at the heart of the curriculum and as such schools are expected to inculcate communitarian values whilst simultaneously teaching thinking skills and discernment in place of deference and obedience (Nixon, 2012, p7). This is part of a wider educational context where a child-centred, reflective approach to learning in all areas of curriculum (Lipman, 1991), recognising that pupils should be encouraged to explore their own experiences and develop their own beliefs as result of education rather than having these beliefs 'barked' (Freive, 1996) in an authoritarian and heteronymous fashion, otherwise considered as the democratisation of the educational process (Nixon, 2012, p4). Education is therefore taking up the roles previously held by institutional religion when it comes to the exploration and inculcation of values (Nixon, 2012, p7). Since Scottish Education developed as a carrier of culture, social aspirations and national self-image, the changing approach to Religious Education reflects loss of religious commitment and influence (Nixon, 2012, p7). An inclusive, exclusive, plural or sceptical perspective on the truth or otherwise of world religions presenting diverse and apparently competing claims requires an element of philosophical analysis (Nixon, 2012, p9). This is particularly so as with Religious Education becoming multi religious and religions being presented neutrally there has been a move towards the consideration of beliefs rather than practices (Nixon, 2012, p10).

Nixon thus emphasises the need for developing a sense of meaning, value and purpose, touching on the changing moral presumptions in society as a justification but ignores

consideration of why study of religious viewpoints is necessary, concentrating instead on emphasising the growth in philosophical method.

3.6.2 The development of a postmodern paradigm with which to pursue the 'Personal Search' for Meaning, Value and Purpose

Nixon indeed focuses on the idea that British writers on Religious Education are sensitive to the social theoretical views of Erricker and Erricker and are happy to adopt a postmodern paradigm where meaning is preferred to truth, allowing pupils total freedom to create their own meaning (Nixon, 2009, p178), making Religious Education, according to Jackson (2004, p18), a series of existential and social debates in which pupils are encouraged to participate with a personal stake related to their own developing sense of identity (cited in Nixon, 2009, p178).

Nixon cites the view of Usher and Edwards (1994) that this is a response to the 'post-modern moment' characterised by, 'epistemological, metaphysical and ethical confusion; interpenetration of ideas; multi-culturalism; relativism; crisis of legitimation where the truth or falsity of ideas, beliefs and theories is different (if not impossible) to establish' and notes Lyotard's 'incredulity towards metanarratives' (2004) as significant in the emergence of philosophy and criticality towards religions and worldviews in Religious Education (Nixon, 2012, p3).

Correspondingly, pupils study a diverse range of units including world religions, epistemology, charities, the supernatural, religious creation stories, and scientific creation 'stories' (Nixon, 2009, p180) and philosophical stances that inform morality (utilitarianism, egoism, Kant), philosophy of religion (the existence of God and theodicy), philosophy of science (the nature of religion and science and the apparent conflict between these areas),

metaphysics (free will and determinism) (Nixon, 2012, p3), and of course the 'personal search' which draws on the other topics studied.

Nixon therefore highlights that the 'Personal Search' emphasised in the 5-14 recommendations (1992) stresses that pupils should be able to express their own answers and responses to ultimate questions, participate in discussion about ethical decision making and moral conflict and discern key areas in the relationship between scientific and religious claims. (Nixon, 2009, p172). The 'Personal Search', Nixon emphasises, was intended to be a permeating methodology for all RE including approaches to World Religions and in the Scottish Curricular Review (Curriculum for Excellence Outcomes May 2008) this permeation is envisaged to continue (Nixon, 2009, p172).

Nixon subsequently notes that between the ages of 14 and 16 the majority of pupils are studying moral philosophy in which religious views become one of a range of possible approaches to moral decision making while in units in morality and ethics pupils consider stances for ethical decision making which are explicitly philosophical such as egoism, hedonism, utilitarianism (Nixon, 2009, p174) and there is a distinct philosophical emphasis explicit in the curriculum for 14 to 18 year olds, the O'Grade, S'Grade, Higher, and Higher Still qualifications, with for example O'Grade topics in 1982 entitled, 'Issues of Belief', and, 'Issues of Morality' (Nixon, 2009, p172).

Of course, this highlights that Nixon is emphasising the inclusion of philosophical content as well as religious content alongside his emphasis on the development of philosophical method in addressing all content in the subject. He does not address the underlying rationale or question why pupils ought to find their own answers to ultimate questions or discern key areas in the relationship between scientific and religious claims, implicitly suggesting the subject aims to encourage a postmodern perspective regarding the validity of 'truth' claims

which rejects evidence-based reasoning, attempting from this basis to make the formation of belief regarding the meaning, value and purpose of human life from a study of a range of religious and non-religious viewpoints intellectually valid, in which lies the distinctiveness of Religious Education in Scotland.

3.7 Religious Observance discussed in parallel with Religious Education in literature

Alongside the requirement for provision of Religious Education in Scottish schools there is the related legal requirement for what is known as Religious Observance by which is meant a regular gathering of the school for some form of liturgical act of Christian worship (Gilfillan, 2013, p98).

The work of Gilfillan, Aiken and Phipps presents a summary of the parallel debate from 1972 onwards, noting that the place traditionally accorded to religious worship has been acknowledged as problematic in many non-denominational schools in light of the anomaly of schools having to provide Christian religious worship despite not being obliged to cultivate a specifically Christian ethos (Gilfillan, 2013, p98). The work cites an HMIE report into Religious Observance in Primary and Secondary Schools in 1989 in which the inspection noted, ‘Many Secondary head teachers...speak of resistance by staff and pupils...the overall attitude was one of acquiescence in an obligation, rather than a positive grasping of an opportunity’ (Gray, 1999, p43,cited in Gilfillan, 2013, p98), contrasting this with the Scottish Joint Committee on Religious and Moral Education statement that ‘it is inappropriate for acts of worship to take place as a compulsory activity within a school context’ (Gray 1999, p38, cited in Gilfillan, 2013, p98) to highlight the inconsistency in the new guidelines of 2005 where although the traditional link between Religious Observance and Christian worship is no longer insisted upon in non-denominational schools, and there is to be a freedom to

replace worship by a ‘less divisive’ emphasis upon spiritual development (Gilfillan, 2013, p99), this nonetheless continues the legal requirement for a school to deliver a curriculum with elements distinct from the academic, physical and social.

Religious Observance is now defined as being, ‘community acts which aim to promote the spiritual development of all members of the school’s community and express and celebrate the shared values of the school community (Circular 1/2005, p12, cited Gilfillan, 2013, p99). Helpfully, ‘spiritual development’ is defined as ‘being helped to recognise, reflect upon and develop a deeper understanding of the value and worth of each individual which comes from one’s dignity as a person’ (SCRE 2004, p30 Scottish Council for Research in Education) with a clear emphasis upon a holistic understanding of the person (Gilfillan, 2013, p99), though unhelpfully ‘value’, ‘worth’ and ‘dignity’ are not developed as descriptive terms. This is particularly important when considering the conflicting HMI inspection comments recorded by Gilfillan et al that Religious Observance in one school was ‘too religious, too Christian’ (Gilfillan, 2013, p101), while in another, ‘We failed to see evidence of Religious Observance which inspired any interest in theology or spirituality among those secondary pupils’ (Gilfillan, 2013, p104).

The curriculum requires free engagement with aspects of belief, spirituality and ‘higher’ realms of human experience (Gilfillan, 2013, p104). Unsurprisingly, Gilfillan et al note that educators were confused insofar as they were unable to gain any conceptual ‘purchase’ on what the Review Group had in mind by ‘spiritual development’ (McCreeny 1991, 1994; Wenman 2001, cited Gilfillan, 2013, p101). ‘Head teachers clearly had difficulty thinking of ‘the spiritual act with a Christian standpoint and were bamboozled at the construct of a purely naturalistic conception of ‘spiritual development’ (Gilfillan, 2013, p101).

The relationship between the requirements for spiritual development and the requirement to form a belief in respect of the meaning, value and purpose of human life seems evident, but considered analysis of the rationale is not the focus of the study by Gilfillan et al which is focused on the problems of interpretation and implementation of policy, which an understanding of the underlying rationale would assist.

3.8 Summary

The contemporary literature suggests that the Millar report was a response to a changing society, one that had begun to question the received values of Christianity, and considered that there was a need to develop a rationale for the subject rooted in educational values. As such the Millar report promoted the notion of Religious Education as a subject aimed at personal development, moving the emphasis away from prescribed questions and answers, although this interpretation is open to question.

It is suggested that SCCORE Bulletin 1 was produced to address the neglect of Religious Education identified in the Millar Report and to justify the place of the subject in the curriculum. It did so by introducing the five essential elements of religion the study of which distinguished Religious Education from other subjects. This concerned Religious Education with the transmission of an area of knowledge distinct from other subjects. It is suggested that the relationship of SCCORE with the Scottish Education Department ensured that teachers would pay due regard to the content and recommendations of the publication. SCCORE was independent of the direct influence of the Church of Scotland and so it is claimed that this made the report acceptable as it was an expression of educational rather than religious values. It is claimed correspondingly that the curriculum suggested by Bulletin 1 as knowledge based was not therefore conceived with the intention of inculcating beliefs. This interpretation is also open to question.

It is then suggested that SCCORE Bulletin 2 was a response to the debate current at the time of the publication of Bulletin 1, between phenomenological approaches and existential approaches to the teaching of Religious Education and that while the influence of Ninian Smart was felt within the Scottish context, Bulletin 2 combined both approaches while the unpublished Bulletin 3 gave rise to the need to approach the teaching of Religious Education as the creation of a critical dialogue between religion and the pupil's personal search for meaning, value and purpose. This led to the adoption of a philosophical method in the subject. Indeed, it will be shown that while study designed to foster tolerance and social cohesion, which is prominent in Smart's thinking, did become an element of the Scottish system within Curriculum for Excellence (2011), the purely objective study which required equal value to be accorded to each religion studied was rejected in Scotland and that Bulletin 2 and the later documents in fact reveal a conscious programme aimed at developing personal beliefs, attitudes and practices, through the search for meaning, value and purpose in life.

Chapter 4 Documentary Analysis: The nature and purpose of Religious Education

4.1 Overview

This chapter presents an analysis of the extant curriculum documentation of the period under consideration. An interpretation of the text of the documents is used to provide a detailed understanding of the nature and purpose of Religious Education that each document sought to convey at the time of publication. Comprehensive quotation fully demonstrates the basis of the interpretation. Continuities and changes in the nature and purpose of Religious Education over the period are identified, revealing a consistency in the stated purpose of the subject with change only in the means by which that purpose may be achieved. The cultural heritage and traditions that Religious Education seeks to transmit are those of Protestant Christianity, with a knowledge and understanding of the beliefs and practices of Christianity in particular, taught to inform an evaluation of specifically Christian values. Religious Education seeks to see particular Christian values transmitted and upheld, with the recognition that changes in the belief patterns in society are a reality but one which necessitates change in the approach rather than the purpose of Religious Education. Societal changes may be such that the subject needs to seek to transform the manner by which values are formed by some, because changes in belief patterns have diminished the role of Christian observance in the formation of values. Christian values are regarded as synonymous with the values of Scottish society, irrespective of matters of religious observance, and the purpose of Religious Education is to confirm those values. Religious Education regards religion as a specific field of knowledge, an understanding of which enables moral values to be established.

4.2 Religious Education as a reflection of a Protestant Christian Scottish Culture

Accepting that by the time of the first government-initiated inquiry into the state of Religious and Moral Education, Religious Education was being taught in a very different cultural and religious context, at the very least in terms of observance, than that which existed when a statutory requirement for the teaching of Religious and Moral Education was first enshrined in law, it might be expected that the Millar Report would address this issue, but the Millar Report does not recognise changes in the belief patterns of society as significant in any consideration of the rationale of the subject. The report considers changes to the approach of the subject but the aims of the subject remain as they always were.

The provisions for religious education, originating in 1872, actively promoted and protected religious instruction, requiring provision and exempting such provision from inspection by state authorities and therefore from control by state authorities, bearing in mind the protections afforded to the Church of Scotland under the terms of the Treaty of Union, and ensured that the dominance of a Protestant Christian perspective was maintained through the nomination of Church representatives on the education committees of education authorities.

> the Education (Scotland) Act 1872 ... set up School Boards...This Act and its preamble guaranteed both the continuance of religious instruction in these schools and the freedom of parents to withdraw their children, and excluded HM Inspectors of Schools from inspecting the subject. Its wording was repeated with little change in the Education (Scotland) Act 1918 which abolished the School Boards and established *ad hoc* education authorities...and provided that the education committees which were to be set up should include two people interested in the promotion of religious instruction nominated by a meeting of representatives of the Churches in the area. The 1929 Act also strengthened the position of religious instruction by adding that it could

> not be discontinued unless...in a local government poll. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p128, 2)

The dominance of religious instruction from a Protestant Christian perspective was maintained through inspection of religious education in schools by local clergy and latterly through formal co-operation between teachers and clergy in determining teaching, which might be regarded as introducing an educational as opposed to instructional approach to the subject, without altering the overall aim of the subject. In embryonic form this may even be taken as an indication of a move away from the transmission of religious knowledge towards the creation of religious understanding, which arguably strengthens the capacity of the subject to inculcate Protestant Christian values.

> in 1918 a joint committee of the Educational Institute of Scotland and the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland...published a Syllabus of Religious Instruction...This led to formation of a broader-based group called the Scottish Joint Committee on Religious Education...issued a complete series of syllabuses for use at different stages in schools and parallel handbooks for teachers and these have been widely used. In 1938 it proposed that formal annual inspection of religious instruction and examination in religious knowledge by local ministers should cease and that there should be a closer co-operation between ministers and teachers on a basis of equality [which was] accepted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and by the Annual General Meeting of the Educational Institute of Scotland. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p129, 4)

Overall the emphasis within the Millar Report is upon the importance of the centrality of Christianity to religious education with recommendations for adapting the approach of the subject to achieve the existing aims.

Contrastingly, SCCORE, Bulletin 1, of 1978 emphasises that whilst the presence of Religious Education in the school curriculum is a legal requirement under the terms of the education act of 1872, that does not mean that the nature of the subject will or should remain the same over time. In defining the subject, the report states:

> Religious education has to be seen against the statutory provisions, dating from 1872 but in force to the present day, which require the continuance in public schools of religious instruction and religious observance...In present day circumstances, such religious education may, indeed in the view of SCCORE must, differ from the religious instruction originally envisaged (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p1, 1.1).

In fact, the nature, and indeed the purpose – defined as the interpretation given to the subject - of Religious Education is determined by the local community in which the subject is taught, and as such can clearly differ in nature and purpose if communities differ in their own outlook:

> The Education (Scotland) Acts preserve the principle of local determination in this field and it is local circumstances – the needs of pupils, the expectations of parents and the local community, the capacity of the school and the strengths of the individual teachers – which will determine what is possible ...and what interpretation is given to religious education. What can be argued in the educational context is the possibility of a common approach to the subject (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p1, 1.2).

The provision for local control is a direct reflection of the organisational nature of the Church of Scotland and local parish authority over ministers and the manner in which ministers

present doctrine to the congregations which appoint them. As such, the character of the subject in schools could remain instructional in a particular religious faith:

> The teacher with a strong personal commitment to a religious faith, whose views are in tune with the wishes and needs of the community, can bring a dimension of particular value to work in religious education (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p1, 3.3).

The implication is that there exists in SCCORE, Bulletin 1, the expectation that teacher and community would at this time indeed have a religious faith which would dictate the nature of the subject.

Similarly, SCCORE, Bulletin 2, of 1981 emphasises that the precise nature of the curriculum is a local matter for local curriculum groups within an education authority to meet their particular needs, but nonetheless SCCORE provides a framework to produce materials in accordance with certain set criteria:

> the main responsibility for the preparation of classroom material must lie with the local curriculum development groups. What the guidelines offer is a framework within which such material can be developed and a set of criteria by which it may be ascertained whether, or to what extent, the aims here outlined have been achieved (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii,1).

Set criteria not only ensures continuity in the nature of the curriculum, but its un-contentious presentation implies that such criteria would not be at odds with local education authorities, and by extension, local people.

The Millar Report, referencing the Education (Scotland) Act 1972, equally expresses the view that the position of Religious Education within the school curriculum, and indeed its very existence as a subject, is a reflection of the expressed values and will of local communities. There being a requirement for a local democratic mandate in the form of a local authority decision approved by the local electorate in order to discontinue the teaching of the subject, the absence of such a process demonstrates the approval of the position of the subject, and presumably therefore its nature.

> It shall not be lawful for an education authority to discontinue religious observance or the provision of instruction in religion...unless and until a resolution in favour of such discontinuance duly passed by the authority has been submitted to a poll of the local government electors for the education area taken for the purpose, and has been approved by a majority of electors voting thereat. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p127, 8.2).

However, whilst the Millar Report considers that religious education should not forcibly indoctrinate to a particular faith, the Christian faith will be presented as 'truth' and its relevance drawn out, notwithstanding some objections by teachers, in part associated with competence, but also with matters of conscience relating to this instructional and confessional approach to the subject. The historic, cultural heritage of Christianity is to be passed on in religious education and teaching is to be undertaken such that children's intellectual developmental capacities for learning the faith are taken into consideration.

Indeed, the Millar Report presupposes that the cultural context is in essence exclusively Christian.

> Every public school and every grant-aided school shall be open to pupils of all denominations (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p127, 9.1)

It is safe to conclude that the deployment of the term 'denomination' implies that the report is referring to the denominations of Christian religion. Without further qualification to the term, it must be taken to refer to a majority, which must by virtue of the religious composition of the population at the time of publication be Christianity. The fact that denomination has a role in the acceptance criteria of schools at all demonstrates the presupposition of at least a Christian cultural context if not a context of full Christian observance as the norm.

Similarly, SCCORE, Bulletin 2 of 1981 describes its guidelines as:

> an attempt to steer between the twin dangers of either obscuring the important differences between schools in the two sectors [denominational and non-denominational] or assuming that the differences are so total as to allow of no shared understanding of religious education (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pvii,8),

emphasising the specifically religious nature of the school system as a binary choice between schools serving the Roman Catholic Christian denomination and schools serving the other Christian denominations together; the implication being that schools have a specific religious and Christian character and purpose.

If by the time of the Millar Report culture and values were no longer rooted in Christianity, and religion in general was commonly addressed from a secular perspective and with an increasingly secular methodology, then it might be expected that the Millar Report would integrate such a perspective and methodology into its recommendations. The use of language presupposing a particular religious cultural context suggests that the report clearly does not

regard contemporary culture and values as having been separated from their Christian origins, nor that culture and values are developing independently of Christianity.

In fact,

> Where the parent of any pupil who is a boarder at...[an] educational establishment under the management of an education authority requests that the pupil be able to attend worship in accordance with the tenets of a particular religious denomination...or to receive religious instruction or to practice religious observance in accordance with such tenets outside the working hours of the school...the education authority shall make arrangements for...reasonable opportunities for so doing...so however that such arrangements shall not entail expenditure by the education authority. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p127, 10.1).

Religious observance and instruction are here regarded as normal for the majority to the extent that minority denominations are afforded special arrangements to do likewise, although not at public expense. This implies a certain communitarian approach to rights where there exists tolerance of religious diversity but not an acceptance of an equal right of access to public funds. There is a dominant religious culture.

When it comes to non-religious viewpoints, Humanist and secular views are to be addressed rather than incorporated, and in any case the submissions of Humanist groups to the report seek to place an emphasis on the importance of moral education, if not religiously based moral education, rather than seeking to remove it from the curriculum:

> Humanist groups [submit that] One of the main aims of a state educational system should be to assist in the integration of our social system [and that Religious

> Education be] replaced with ethical teaching...with definite courses on moral education (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p39, 3.7),

As to religions other that Christianity, whilst it is noted in the Millar Report that pupils from other religious traditions are newly present there is not considered to be a need to address these religious traditions, which would be too complex a matter within the time constraints of the curriculum in any case. The report ultimately concluded that in order to understand other religions pupils would require an understanding of the history and culture of the countries in which they originate; as this would prove impossible, a study of other religions would not allow them to, 'develop their awareness of moral and religious issues and their capacity to make reasonable choices and commitments in the face of these' and as such would be of little value (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p89, 5.39). This demonstrates that the report regards the teachings of Christianity as a reflection of a pervasive historic culture and indeed can only be taught properly with the presuppositions common to that context.

This view of religious education as having an enabling role in making 'choices and commitments 'is reflected in SCCORE, Bulletin 1 where religious education assists pupils in social interactions and personal perspectives by providing a means to decide how they ought to behave towards people and events based on an understanding of personal identity, suggesting the importance of cultural context to an understanding of religion and as necessary for its practice:

> Religion as a distinctive mode of understanding and way of interpreting experience...Religion as a distinctive framework which helps pupils to focus on fundamental issues such as identity, inter-personal relationships, and the nature and meaning of existence (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p13, 12.2).

The curriculum suggested by SCCORE Bulletin 1 is accordingly focussed primarily on Christianity with the same justification as contained within the Millar Report that the historic origins of national culture and values are rooted in Christianity, although the emphasis is shifted to the historic rather than the contemporary and whilst the Millar Report implies near universal adherence to Christian practice, SCCORE Bulletin 1 notes only that Christianity is the main religion of those who practice a religion, indicating some change in the belief patterns of society but not following this with a suggested change in content or with the Christian culture to be transmitted, but possibly acknowledging a different society to be transformed.

> in any RE curriculum Christianity must appear. It is a world wide religion, significant in its impact on human history and development. A creative element in the culture and ethos of Western European society, it is for Scots the faith which has shaped their history and tradition and which claims the allegiance of most of those religiously committed or adherent in Scotland. For children of other faiths it provides the historical basis of the society in which they find themselves. It should therefore feature as a major component in the curriculum of all pupils (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p3, 4.1).

Notably, within this emphasis:

> Room should however be found for study of its major expressions – Orthodox, Roman and Protestant – beyond that of particular denominations. (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p3, 4.2).

The cultural significance to Scotland of Christianity is emphasised and the particular role of Protestant Christianity, specifically that of Presbyterianism, is alluded to. The inclusion of a

differentiated study of denominations denotes the aim of contextualising Scottish Christian tradition within a broader European Christianity.

However, SCCORE, Bulletin 1 notes that:

> our schools are set in a rapidly changing society whose long Christian tradition has a vital part to play in giving spiritual and moral perspective but no longer has general acceptance. The school, therefore, has to prepare its pupils for change and mobility while at the same time showing that stable spiritual and moral values are required if life is to be truly human (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p12, 12.1),

accepting that Christian observance is no longer universal but nonetheless equating spirituality and morality with humanity and therefore as aspects to be developed through education. Of course, spiritual and moral values are derived from a study of Christianity. The same material is being transmitted but with the aim of transforming the culture of those not generally accepting of Christian beliefs.

The central focus of SCCORE, Bulletin 2 is towards the integration of a study of religions with the personal search for meaning, value and purpose which SCCORE see as being at the heart of religion as an expression of human experience. Correspondingly the emphasis is on how religions in general respond to human experiences and in encouraging the development of a curriculum which reflects this. However, the importance of Christianity in this endeavour is duly noted along with a suggestion that other religions and other stances for living are important – but possibly not important enough to be specified beyond the general description of ‘other’:

> The fact that Christianity has a special place within the history, culture, values and institutions of our society should be reflected in the prominence given to it in the curriculum. The significant presence of other religions is also important. Finally other stances for living which govern the lives of many within our society should not be ignored (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p15, 5.14).

Indeed, in devising the curriculum, Christianity must have a particular place regardless of the nature of the local community the nature of which must be contextualised within a Scottish society defined as Christian, although there is no suggestion of local communities identifying with an entirely different religious tradition and the emphasis remains mainly on non-observance:

> ...When considering the overall balance of a religious education curriculum...Does the place given to Christianity reflect its special place within our society?...Does the material...take account of the nature of the local community, Scottish society and the world community? (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii, 2).

The 5-14 National Guidelines of 1992, give similar precedence to Christianity is as it has:

> shaped the history and traditions of Scotland and continues to exert an influence on national life (Scottish Office Education Department,1992, p1),

noting indeed that:

> Other major religions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism, are also represented. [However] It would not be possible to develop a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of all these faiths within the school curriculum (Scottish Office Education Department,1992, p1),

suggesting a view that a comprehensive understanding of Christianity is possible and desirable.

The Curriculum for Excellence (2011) stresses a ‘fundamental’ principle that all children will consider a range of faiths and views and that this has nothing to do with their own faith background: the purpose is to understand national and international contexts (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2). However, the primacy of Christianity is stressed, and justified in terms of its influence on the history and traditions of Scotland and because it, ‘continues to exert an influence on national life’ (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2). The contemporary relevance of this religion in particular is stressed, but no explanation is given as to what this influence is.

Nonetheless, pupils are to:

> explore and develop knowledge and understanding of religions, recognising the place of Christianity in the Scottish context (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1);
>
> explain the contribution of Christian beliefs to the development of Scotland, now and in the past. (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p3, RME 4-01b);
>
> explain how the values of Christianity contribute to as well as challenge Scottish and other societies. (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p3, RME 4-02c).

The specific religious context is stressed where pupils:

> Through researching a range of Christian traditions, practices and customs... explain their significance across a range of Christian Traditions [and] consider the place of these in the contemporary religious life of Scotland. (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p4, RME 4-03a);

The Millar report also sought to understand the religious background of the pupil population, asking, ‘Does your school have children from immigrant families? If so, what attitude is taken by their parents?’ (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p149, H8). With 95% responding that they had very few or no immigrants 95%, and only 1% of those with immigrant families responding that, ‘Most or all ask to withdraw children from religious education’ (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p146, E1), there was seen to be little cultural influence from religious traditions outside of Christianity.

Indeed the report asked, ‘Would you describe your school as one where the majority of pupils have some connection with a church or church organisation; or as one where the majority of pupils do not have such a connection?’ (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p151, H12), with a 59% response that a, ‘Majority have church connection’ and a 25% response that a ‘Majority do not’, with 16% having’ no information’ (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p151, H12), indicating that transmission of Christian values was taking place in an atmosphere of Church connection, which would constitute a symbiotic relationship, although the report noted that these percentages were collated from individual schools where,

> Proportions varied markedly for different types of school and for different sizes of school, without any clear pattern, and this casts doubt on the validity of answers to this question. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p21, 2.65).

The purpose of Religious Education revealed throughout the curriculum documents is consistently to transmit the values of a Protestant Christian tradition with the sole change being an acknowledgement that society has moved from being largely observant to largely non-observant over the period and that therefore the subject must maintain the means by which moral values are formed by the observant and transform the means by which moral

values are formed by the non-observant through a Religious Education which reflects the Protestant Christian culture of Scotland.

4.3 The Nature and Purpose of Religious and Moral Education as a vehicle for Protestant Christian values, beliefs and practices

4.3.1 The distinctiveness of Religious Education as a curriculum area because of its religious nature

Although presupposing a dominant Christian context, the Millar Report requires that provision is made for those whose parents wish them to be exempted from actual instruction in religion and actual participation in religion, incidentally indicating that religious education is regarded as a subject where religion is to be learned and practiced.

> any pupil may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects and from any religious observance in any such school (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p127, 9.1)

Indeed, the fact that,

> no pupil shall in any such school be placed at any disadvantage with respect to the secular instruction given therein by reason of the denomination to which the pupils or his parents belong, or by reason of his being withdrawn from any instruction on religious subjects (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p127, 9.1),

suggests that religious education is not viewed as a subject with the same teaching and learning processes as other subjects. If religious education were to involve the learning and practice of skills present in other subjects, and not regarded as 'religious' skills, pupils not participating in religious education would miss out and therefore be disadvantaged. Religious

education cannot therefore be a subject where pupils practice critical thinking skills as they would in other subjects and must therefore be a subject involving specifically 'religious' skills. As such there is no sense of the neutral approach associated with a secular methodological consideration of the subject.

> It shall be no part of the duty of a person authorised under this section to make an inspection of any educational establishment, to inquire into instruction in religious subjects given therein or to examine any pupil in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p128, 67.2)

The implication is that subject knowledge in religious education is regarded differently to other areas of the curriculum. The competence of pupils is not subject to objective analysis.

> Information about the teaching of religious education in Scottish schools is not readily available. The Scottish Education Department does not include religious education in its reports, and HM Inspectors (and church representatives) are excluded from examining it. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p8, 2.2)

The purpose of religious education itself must therefore by definition be distinct from that of other curricular areas, or its success or otherwise in achieving its purpose would need to be assessed.

Moreover,

> The time or times during which any religious observance is practiced or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school shall be specified in a table approved by the Secretary of State. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p127, 9.2),

demonstrating not simply the legal requirement for religious education to form a certain percentage of the timetable in order that certain learning and social outcomes determined by the state are met, but the nature of religious education as instruction in and practice of religion.

In fact, whilst there existed an insistence on the teaching of religious education, there existed a discretionary element in the approach and even in the nature of the subject in line with other subjects in the curriculum. Such a lack of regulation without a resultant diversity is suggestive of a consensus in the nature of the subject rather than any sense of active local diversity which may point to or result from the homogenous culture of time. In reference to Education Authorities:

> the usual policy was to recommend or make available a syllabus of religious education and to leave the headteachers considerable freedom in deciding how religious education should be taught. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p9, 2.5)

Freedom from direction implies at least the possibility of diversity dependant on nature of syllabuses and level of diversity between them.

> Twenty-nine of the authorities stated that complete (or almost complete) freedom was given to headteachers in their arrangements for religious education. The requirements made by the others are relatively small: annual reports are required from schools in two education authority areas, while one requires a declaration annually from headteachers that religious education has been given. Only one authority prescribes definite instructions and a fixed amount of time, and one requires headteachers to act in accordance with their published regulations. In general, this liberal approach is in

> accordance with general practice in other areas of the curriculum...(Scottish Education Department, 1972, p9, 2.6)

Although,

> In the large majority of education authorities, arrangements are made for local ministers to act as chaplains in all or most of the schools... (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p9, 2.7),

the influence of whom may be taken to effectively restrain the possibility of diversity.

It is notable that when the report inquires into the appointment of teachers of religious education it considers, 'the question whether teachers have freedom of choice whether or not to teach religious education' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p10, 2.9), observing that,

> Sixteen education authorities ask applicants for appointment if they are prepared to teach religious education...Three others also do not ask this, but state that the question is frequently put to applicants in the course of an interview. One authority puts the question in the form: 'Can you conscientiously assist with the daily Religious Knowledge lesson?' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p10, 2.10).

The question implies that teachers could have reasons for objecting to the teaching of the subject, from which it may be inferred that religious education is a confessional and instructional subject which is not taught in the objective manner of other curriculum areas with which teachers would be familiar, but which also suggests religious education in this form is not an uncontested or necessarily accepted cultural norm. The use of the term, 'prepared', suggests a possible interpretation of, 'do not object on moral or religious grounds', to the teaching of religious education, rather than a reference to readiness based on

professional qualifications or educational ability or lack thereof. The term, ‘conscientiously’, may be defined in its archaic sense as meaning, ‘with good moral conscience’, while the reference to religious ‘knowledge’ highlights the confessional and instructional nature of the subject. Nonetheless, the consideration of the low numbers of specialist teachers of religious education (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p10, 2.12) suggests that the nature of the instruction is such that it falls within general knowledge, as an established element of the culture, with no specialist skills to be taught.

4.3.2 Religious Education as a transmitter of Protestant Christian values, beliefs and practices through the means of Bible study

The Millar Report collates a series of responses to a set of questions which in themselves demonstrate that the report presupposes that the ‘main concern’ of religious education is the issue of knowledge of Christian belief and the application of Christian belief.

In response to the question,

> Are these school assemblies basically devotional; or do they aim at religious instruction; or is there no religious element in the proceedings? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p142, A3),

the replies were:

> Mainly devotional 86%; Mainly instructional 9%; Non-religious 0% (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p142, A3).

In response to the question,

> How often do pupils attend a church service specially arranged for the school, either in a local church or on school premises? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p142, A5),

the replies were:

> Termly or more often, in a church 49%; Termly or more often, in the school 24%; Annually, in a church 12%; Annually, in the school 5%; Not at all 10% (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p142, A5).

In response to the question,

> Does your school have house meetings or meetings of other similar groups (larger than a single class, but excluding school assemblies) which could be regarded as dealing with moral and religious education? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p143, B1),

the replies were:

> Yes 13% No 81% (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p143, B1).

In response to the question,

> What form do these meetings normally take? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p143, B4),

the replies were:

> Mainly devotional 11%; Religious instruction in the form of teaching Christian beliefs or biblical knowledge 24%; Discussion of religion in relation to moral and social

> questions 26%; Discussion of moral and social questions without explicit Christian reference 30% (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p143, B4).

In response to the question,

> Do pupils meet regularly as a class with their form master ...as distinct from the normal instructional sessions or meetings merely for registration? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p144, C3),

the replies were:

> Yes 49% No 51% (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p144, C3).

In response to the question,

> Is religious observance (*eg* prayer, bible reading) part of the form or class meeting? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p144, C3),

the replies were:

> Normally 44%: Occasionally 25%; No 31% (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p144, C3).

All the answers demonstrate that the transmission of forms of Christian worship and Christian practice is in evidence in varying degrees but is always apparent with a mere ten per cent being the exception.

Indeed, so explicit is the expectation in the report that Christianity is the focus of the subject that in forming the inquiry into the nature of religious education lessons, the question asked was:

> Which of the following is the main concern of the lessons in religious education at each stage in the school? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p145, D3),

with the options for response exclusively given as:

> Mainly knowledge of the Bible text, a historical approach to the Bible, the relation of biblical teaching to contemporary problems, discussion of Christian doctrine, discussion with no particular emphasis of religious or biblical topics (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p145, D3).

To answer the question,

> 'Are religions other than Christianity dealt with in religious education classes?' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p145, D5),

the options available for selection were:

> 'Yes, specific reference made; Incidentally, as occasion arises; No, or only exceptionally' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p145, D5),

The use of the term 'reference' indicate that religions other than Christianity are to be considered in relation to Christianity and not as discrete topics, while the phrase, 'as occasion arises', almost suggests other religions are considered by way of an unnecessary aside, and 'exceptionally suggests they are studied by way of a marginal esoteric interest.

Similarly, in the question, 'Which version of the Bible is most regularly used...?' Christianity as the subject matter is taken for granted, as is the method for studying it (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p146, E1). This also emphasises the Protestant nature of the curriculum, as the reference to which 'version' of the Bible being used relates to the potential range of

translations of the Bible into English, this being a facet of Protestantism alongside the freedom to select itself. Moreover, 'the Bible' refers to any such translation, as opposed to the text used in Roman Catholic education, published as the, 'Roman Catholic Bible', which is a distinctive text both in terms of translation and content, for reasons which do not concern us here.

In relating criticism by pupils, the report notes that whilst pupils expressed a negative opinion of the subject, they were not opposed necessarily to the content of the subject, more to its delivery:

> The majority of teenagers we met were completely dissatisfied with the subject and the way it was approached by teacher and chaplain...but it was clear that they were not just iconoclasts (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p31, 2.98).

The report considered that there was a degree of alienation from the Bible, Christian beliefs, and traditional 'Christian values' and an aversion to the Church, demonstrating incidentally that the teaching of Bible lessons and the transmission of specific beliefs and values was the purpose of the subject. Mentioning that there was some interest in religious questions and therefore the need for change in order 'to reach young people' illustrates the importance attached to religious questions and the importance in pupils engaging with them:

> The crucial point is that the world of the teenager and the world of the Bible again and again come out in very sharp contrast.....in some areas the alienation from Christian beliefs and the more traditional pattern of Christian values is not as great in Scotland; but it seems doubtful if much reliance can be placed on this or its continuation for very long...And although there was evidence of interest in religious questions when removed from the context of the Church, their alienation tended to produce a 'block'

> in their minds to taking seriously any issue that was associated with traditional Christianity. It therefore seems to us no exaggeration to say that in this situation religious education must change in some fundamental ways if it is to reach young people effectively (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p35, 2.107).

There was a need for change in approach, rather than content. A clear emphasis on familiarising pupils with the Christian heritage is evident in the report. The problem lay in a change in the reception of the Bible as a definitive authority.

> On all sides we found great confusion about the Bible, its truth and its authority. For our grandparents the Bible was the book with the answers to the complex questions of living. Today - to judge by comments frequently made in the free atmosphere of our discussions – there are very serious misgivings about the authority of the Bible...The confusion and muddle about even the basic facts of the Bible at least puts the lie to the charge of indoctrination...There was also considerable confusion about the denominational differences in the churches (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p33, 2.102).

In referring to the Bible the report speaks of, 'its truth and its authority', language which is indicative of the report authors' views that Bible has truth and authority. The implication is that religious education is supposed to convey this 'truth' and is to use the Bible to answer 'complex questions of living', dealing with 'the charge of indoctrination' – a charge which at least suggests the existence of this opinion of the subject and an objection to it – by establishing the 'facts' of the Bible, by which is clearly meant both the historical and the theological. The focus is specifically on the religious message of the Bible and its relevance to contemporary issues.

Accordingly, one example of criticism by a pupil, taken as typifying the basis of criticism, is noted to demonstrate an apparent misunderstanding of the subject:

> Perhaps the comment of a sixth-year Edinburgh girl reveals the imprecise thinking about the nature of religious education that is typical: 'Religious education should be changed considerably as the views are old-fashioned: so are the teachers in away. We should be getting down to more modern ideas on life in general such as war, the world and racial problems. This would be better than hearing about Moses, which is antiquated and probably not true anyway' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p31, 2.10).

The response was to ensure that the relevance of what was being taught was made explicit:

> one additional guiding principle is that religious education be seen as *relevant*...appropriate to the stages of development. Relevance also refers to the society in which we live...Today there is a growing interest not only in a re-interpretation of the biblical documents, but also in a restatement of the essential truths of the Christian faith in the light of their relevance for modern man...religious instruction... must yield to a more open-ended examination of experience (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p64, 4.33).

SCCORE Bulletin 1, in considering the use made of the Bible within the curriculum, emphasised that it is important that a study of the Bible should not be isolated from a general study of religion to ensure an understanding of its place in religious thought and practice as a whole (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p17, 15.2), but specifically in this regard:

> Pupils, in whatever course they follow, should be helped to identify key concepts relating to Bible thought such as Covenant and Sacrifice. Equally pupils must be shown the different categories of Biblical material such as prophecy, myth and wisdom literature (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p17, 15.2).

In other words, when SCCORE, Bulletin 1 concerns itself with religion and its distinctive elements it uses the term 'religion' as interchangeable with 'Christianity'. Equally, the aim is to encourage 'personal exploration' of the Bible:

> Four uses may be distinguished...Literary Usage...Factual Usage, Insight Usage, Believers' Usage...to show pupils the full significance of the Bible and to encourage personal exploration. (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p17, 15.6),

and to engage with Christianity by showing the Bible to be at the centre of, 'lively, deeply interesting and important examination' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p17, 15.14).

A change in the approach to the teaching of 'the essential truths of the Christian faith' as the Millar Report considered did not change the view that the Christian faith did in fact contain such truths and that such truths were not only relevant to modern life but ought to be taught as such.

The report considered that,

> There were many who wanted some adventurous and rigorous thinking on the subject...there was a desire for truth about life and death issues (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p33, 2.103).

Religious education was concerned with the search for 'truth'. Moreover,

> it would be wrong to give an impression of a materialist or cynical attitude. Many of the young people showed an openness of mind and a genuine concern about the human situation...Should schools be concerned with religious and moral education or should they not rather concentrate on training pupils to earn a living?...You can't call yourself educated if you don't know even the fundamentals about religion, morals and ethics (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p33, 2.103).

The conflation of 'materialist' and 'cynical' attitudes with closed-mindedness and the conflation of religion with 'concern about the human situation' demonstrates either that secular views were not understood by the report authors or that they were adopting a particularly pejorative turn of phrase as a reflection of religious bias. Indeed, in the phrase, 'religious and moral education', with no separating comma, may be seen a conflation of religion and morality. The role of the subject was to provide a prescriptive moral framework.

4.3.3 The use of non-specialist teachers and chaplains in the teaching of Religious Education as a reflection of Protestant Christian Culture

This role of inculcating values from the dominant societal culture, or what it was considered ought to be that culture, that is to say, of teaching Christian values from within a Christian society is also reflected within the Millar Report in the non-specialist background of the teachers involved in delivering the subject.

> Only 24% of schools have a specialist teacher of religious education on their staff, and these are mainly the largest schools and the six-year selective schools. Where there is a specialist teacher, the specialist qualification is usually the Diploma in Religious Education. In only 29 per cent of schools is there a member of staff designated as responsible for overall supervision of religious education in the school,

> though the majority of six-year selective schools and of the single-sex schools have a teacher designated as responsible. 82 per cent of secondary schools have a school chaplain. In all except the six-year selective schools, the standard practice is that all teachers are involved in teaching religious education unless they ask to be excused: the six-year schools more commonly use only those teachers who wish to teach the subject. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p19, 2.57).

The presence of non-specialist teachers, and of teachers qualified below degree-level, suggests that the subject makes limited professional demands upon teachers and limited academic demands upon teachers and pupils alike. The implication is that the subject matter is such that teachers have a general knowledge of it without the need for academic study. The use of those who 'wish to teach' in six-year selective schools does imply a different, perhaps academic, attitude adopted by these schools, particularly given the presence of English GCE examination, presumably due to nature of schools and if 'wish to teach' is considered an indication of competence rather than conscience. That the majority of schools have a chaplain emphasises the Christian and specifically Protestant Christian nature of the subject.

SCCORE, Bulletin 1 expands on the role of the chaplain, linking school activities with church activities in the community, going so far as to stress the need for a sufficiently large team of ministers to fulfil the educational aims of the subject, without any sense of questioning the appropriateness of their involvement, indicating the normalcy of a Christian context:

> The chaplain can provide a link with the community in a number of ways...there can be an appropriate place for services in the school which mark the major religious festivals...his pastoral role which could contribute to guidance as well as to RE and which in the curricular context, could be extended to show the Church in action in the

> community...This makes considerable demands on a chaplain and therefore SCCORE endorses the view that in many secondary schools it is necessary to have a team chaplaincy (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p21, 17.4).

The Millar Report did seek to investigate resistance to the teaching of religious education within schools and the phrasing of the questions put which seem in themselves to presuppose a conscientious objection to the teaching of the subject, does imply that the report was alert to the possibility of changes in attitudes to religion, or specifically Christianity as it was the religion almost exclusively taught, within society at large. In the answers to the questions however, may be seen a teaching profession more concerned with a lack of individual competence in teaching a subject not their own, rather than a conscientious objection, with a lack of development in the teaching methods within religious education equally stemming from that lack of professional competence.

> One question concerned...attitude to the teaching of religious education...desirable to include choices which would show more clearly the degree of any opposition to religious education... (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p27, 2.87).

The question here is focussed not on opposition to the teaching of religious education but on religious education itself, with the answer being unclear as to whether objections were to the purpose of the subject or related to the teaching of it due to issues of personal competence:

> ...majority of those expressing an opinion would prefer not to teach religious education or were positively opposed to it. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p27, 2.87).

Without explicitly drawing out the significance of the answer, because presumably the contemporary audience would not have required it, the report notes:

> ...it was the younger teachers (under age 30) who were more inclined to be opposed ...There was also a tendency...for a greater proportion of men and of married women teachers, and of teachers of Mathematics or Science (in contrast to the Arts subjects), to be opposed to the teaching of religious education (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p27, 2.87).

There would appear to be certain period specific notions of the intellectual outlook of 'married women' and 'men', that is to say of those considered mature in intellect, and possibly an implied significance in the statement that teachers of Mathematics and Science were opposed, the implication being that these are rational subjects and their practitioners would naturally be opposed to the teaching of an 'irrational' subject. Of course the objection may be based on a perceived difficulty felt by the teachers of non-Arts subjects in delivering a subject in a manner outside their competence. The report does not seek to distinguish between the reasons for the objections, presumably not seeing the possibility that alternative conclusions as to the reasons for the objections are possible.

Similarly, in stating that,

> ...depressingly little evidence of an imaginative teaching approach comparable with that developed in other subjects (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p28, 2.88),

The report does not consider whether this results from a lack of expertise or a lack of motivation; whether this is an issue of competence or conscience? The answer to an open ended question to elicit general comments would at first seem to confirm that competence was the main issue:

> over one-third, spontaneously commented that religious education should be taught by specialist teachers. The comments on this theme often expressed a feeling of

> inadequacy or unsuitability to teach religious education (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p30, 2.96),

and indeed the fact that,

> The large majority...do not follow a prescribed syllabus...only a minority of secondary school teachers [said they use religious education textbooks (other than the Bible)] (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p28, 2.89),

demonstrates a fixed idea of what the subject must be and implies a clear limitation in teaching.

However, whilst suggesting competence as source of reluctance to teach, other comments do explicitly indicate that the nature and role of the subject were significant factors in the reluctance of an indeterminate number of teachers.

> 'Chaplains should be trained to address adolescents.'... 'Moral education required today: pupils won't accept moral principles if taught along with RI.' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p30, 2.96).

Such comments suggest a conscious separation of 'morality' from 'religion' in contrast to the established practice of religious education identified in the report.

> 'Teachers who do not believe do harm when they teach RE.' ...'Parents' responsibility – RE should not be taught in schools. No teacher should be made to teach RE.' ...'Strongly against having to teach RE, but question is always asked at promotion interviews'(Scottish Education Department, 1972, p29,2.93).

The section 2.93 follows on from a section on Primary School teachers and probably relates their views rather than those of Secondary School teachers. Primary teachers might possibly be regarded as more competent to teach the subject due to the 'all-subject' nature of their role and their understanding of teaching methods from all subject disciplines. As such, these comments from the cultural and professional milieu suggest certain ideological and conscience based objections to religious education rather than matters of competence. No definitive conclusion as to the significance of such views can however be made as there is no indication as to the proportion of teachers expressing these views. There is nothing therefore to contradict the prevailing narrative of the report that religious education took place in a society with a dominant Christian culture and in concentrating on the teaching of Christian religion and belief the subject was a reflection of that culture and sought to transmit that culture.

4.4 Christian Moral Education and Practice

The Christian cultural context is also seen clearly in the fact that moral education is seen as a component of religious education. Even where moral education is present outside the context of religious education it is subject to the influence of Christian religion and Christian clergy:

> moral education...usually regarded as a general aspect of the whole school work...and several authorities have appointed working parties of teachers to examine this general area...they arrange conferences..at which teachers, and sometimes ministers, discuss religious education (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p10, 2.8)

In a report concerning religious education and discussing replies to a questionnaire about religious education, there are questions relating to the provision of sex education, regarded as a subject to be approached from a moral perspective and moreover as a specific concern of

religious morality. The focus is on religious morality rather than biological or public health matters. The,

> ...questionnaire investigated various aspects of moral education, including advice and counselling, and sex education... (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p21, 2.66)

asking,

> In sex education, which topics are dealt with in the school syllabus? (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p152, C1).

The report states that:

> Moral education was defined as ‘education specifically aimed at developing an understanding of moral issues and personal relationships and the formation of a code of behaviour, distinct from religious education (though not necessarily exclusive of a religious viewpoint) and in addition to the general responsibility of every school and every teacher for the development of pupils’ character and personality (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p21, 2.67),

The very combination of ‘moral issues’, ‘personal relationships’, and a ‘code of behaviour’ with religious education is suggestive of a clear intent to transmit the specifically Christian values of the period.

Indeed, when the report notes that:

> School examinations in religious education are rarely set (86 per cent of schools report no examination of any kind in the subject). Only 5 per cent of schools (mainly the largest six-year selective schools) have presented any candidates in the past four

> years for the English GCE examinations in religious studies (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p19, 2.56),

it is clear that religious education is not a subject studied for the purpose of examination to qualify pupils for a professional purpose or to advance academic skills. Rather, therefore the subject has another, societal, purpose.

When the report asked schools, 'Is any special provision made for moral education...for delinquent...children?' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p24, 2.76), and, 'Is any special provision made for moral education or for advice and counselling for delinquent or potentially delinquent children?' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p154, D2), the use of the term 'delinquent' implies a view of what is normal and of deviance from that norm. One response asserted that, 'When the home is of low moral standard our task is well-nigh impossible' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p24, 2.76), suggesting there exists an accepted concept of normal moral conduct and values which underpin such conduct and that religious and moral education has a role in transmitting those values along with a sense of the need to conform. It seems that pupils were to be encouraged to engage with morality in order to understand why a particular moral stance ought to be adopted, with no acceptance that different moral stances might be recognised as valid. The purpose clearly was to transmit a Christian value-system and the aim was for pupils to engage with those values and accept them. In this respect it is notable that:

> Thus the great majority of schools have no arrangements for the active co-operation of parents in this field (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p23, 2.74),

as if this might detract from the effective transmission of these values. Indeed, in relating the attitudes of pupils, which may be considered to reflect the views of the family from which they principally receive their values, the report notes:

The main target for criticism was the School Assembly where many felt they were being 'got at'. Nor did they like 'phoney rules'...'You can tell he's putting it on. He never goes near the Church on Sunday' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p31, 2.99).

The implication is that religious education is instructional in Christianity and Christian morality which seem to contrast with the prevailing social morality at this period, being regarded as, 'phoney'.

SCCORE Bulletin 1 considers that religious education has a particular contribution to make to moral education, because of the specific nature of religion itself:

> [Religious Education has a] distinctive contribution to make..because major world religions express their beliefs through their moral codes and because in offering the religious framework of experience, raising fundamental questions, helping pupils to understand the nature of commitment it helps pupils to evaluate the underlying authority, the differing life styles that result from varying moral patterns (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p7, 8.3)

However, in examining what it refers to as the 'Moral Dimension of Religious Education', SCCORE Bulletin 1 notes that it is:

> '...essential, however, to establish...the differing responsibilities for, moral education and religious education. The two are not interchangeable (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p7, 8.3).

The Millar Report whilst viewing moral education as a matter for the whole school curriculum and not simply that of the religious education curriculum saw the whole school dimension as an extension of the religious education classroom. SCCORE Bulletin 1 on the other hand, whilst agreeing that moral education is a matter for curriculum areas other than religious education, regards this as being the case because of a difference between religiously based moral education and morality with a different basis:

> it [moral education] is a derivative aspect of the main task...RE should not have the sole responsibility for morality in the school situation, nor should it be the only curriculum area to undertake moral education...the religious mode and the moral mode of activity should each have its own place in the curriculum (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p7, 8.4)

It is in fact precisely because moral education can now be approached from different standpoints that religious education has a role in school education as a whole, as a counterpoint to such differing standpoints, presumably of a secular or rational nature, presenting what are referred to as 'spiritual' values:

> ...new ways of helping young people [a stress on modes of understanding..so that pupils may be able to adjust to the changes that an increasing body of knowledge brings...the introduction of the guidance system and a new emphasis on social education] have tended to overshadow or displace the vital contribution that religious education has to make in the development of the personality of a young person and to discount the part that spiritual and moral values play in that development. It is therefore necessary for all concerned...to ensure that RE has a meaningful place in the timetable (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p12, 12.1).

The 5-14 National Guidelines emphasise the Christian origins of both laws and moral values, making explicit that values are moral values and determining that there should be 'appreciation' of these. These values should be acknowledged as valid and ppils helped to apply them in personal decisions:

> In this country in particular, it is often argued that 'the Christian ethic' is at the basis of our laws and moral values....Traditional ideas about right and wrong are continually challenged by new circumstances and new technology. This gives rise to two complementary aspects of moral education: appreciation of common values such as honesty, liberty, justice, fairness, respect for others; and a personal process of clarification of values and decision-making to enable the individual to cope with change (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2).

The particular values to be held and believed in and considered as moral are determined by the curriculum. Pupils should,

> Appreciate moral values such as honesty, liberty, justice, fairness and concern for others (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2).

Given that:

> The aims of Religious and Moral Education are to help pupils to: Develop a knowledge and understanding of Christianity and other world religions and to recognise religion as an important expression of human experience (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2),

the values are drawn from a study of religion, principally Christianity, and despite the statement that pupils should,

> Develop their own beliefs, attitudes, moral values and practices though a process of personal search, discovery and critical evaluation (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2),

which incidentally is a requirement to acquire a religious belief, the parameters of study determine that the moral values highlighted for appreciation are to be acquired, and indeed applied:

> [Pupils should] Demonstrate the ability to understand and apply the principles of fairness, justice, tolerance etc. In relation to issues involving prejudice, e.g. race, religion, gender; recognise situations involving moral conflict, show awareness of alternative viewpoints and be able to offer a personal opinion, backed by reasons (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p13).

If, 'fairness, justice and tolerance' are 'appreciated' then 'alternative viewpoints' will be recognised as wrong viewpoints in the 'personal opinion' of the pupil.

Similarly, the Curriculum for Excellence of 2011 presents a study of world religions, of which Christianity remains the principal, as the basis for developing values, and moreover, for developing a specific capacity for 'moral judgement':

> [Pupils] Having considered key Christian beliefs... express reasoned views on these and discuss how putting them into practice might affect individuals and society (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p2, RME 4-01a);

> [Pupils should] Through exploring a range of issues of morality... consider Christian responses to these issues and relate these [their own] developing values. (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p3, RME 4-02a).

Indeed,

> Religious and moral education enables children and young people to explore the world's major religions and views which are independent of religious belief and to consider the challenges posed by these beliefs and values. It supports them in developing and reflecting upon their values and their capacity for moral judgement. (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

As with the 5-14 National Guidelines the values to be reflected upon and established are explicitly determined:

> [Pupils should] explore and establish values such as wisdom, justice, compassion and integrity and engage in the development of and reflection upon their own moral values (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1),

and they are likewise to learn to apply them appropriately to a predetermined end:

> [Pupils should] develop their beliefs, attitudes, values and practices through reflection, discovery and critical evaluation (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1),

and,

> develop the skills of reflection, discernment, critical thinking and deciding how to act when making moral decisions (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1),

in order to,

> make a positive difference to the world by putting their beliefs and values into action (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

4.5 Religious Observance

Furthermore, pupils were to be engaged with Christianity and helped to understand the significance of its beliefs through participation in worship, with 'sincere and meaningful' participation being an educational aim:

> pupils cannot be said to be educated in religious matters if they have not come to some understanding of the experiences that give rise to religious worship...an important part of religious and moral education is to...encourage them to participate in the forms of response to these experiences that men have worked out in religious worship...in sincere and meaningful Christian worship (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p103, 6.26).

Supportive of the conclusions of the Millar Report, SCCORE Bulletin 1 challenges a claim that compulsory Christian worship cannot convey the experience of a personal response to a religious belief without a person holding the belief and therefore has no educational validity:

> There are those who are unable to accept that participation in worship is an educational experience as such; that the experience of corporate worship to which there is essentially a personal response can be externally conveyed, or that compulsory worship has any validity (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p20, 16.3).

Indeed, SCCORE Bulletin 1 validates the role of worship further. Acknowledging the difficulty of providing a valid experience of worship (presumably valid educationally) Bulletin 1 considers that prayer ought to be at least attempted as otherwise many pupils would have no other means of learning about prayer. There is a clear aim of engaging pupils with Christianity even if they do not further participate beyond the classroom:

> To provide experiences in a classroom in which prayer or worship can be valid is difficult, but should it be regarded as impossible and/or undesirable?..Many pupils will have no means of learning about prayer...It is important...there should be opportunity for this. The provision of opportunity does not imply an obligation on all to use it (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p21, 16.9).

SCCORE, Bulletin 1 further provides examples of types of participatory worship that would generate deeper understanding of religion, insisting that there is no need to hold a particular belief to gain such insight:

> in what ways can the RE teacher properly structure an imaginative exploration of worship as a way into the understanding of religion? Almost certainly singing, praying writing and talking about prayers etc...in inverted commas, i.e. 'This is how Jews/Christians/Muslims worship...The children should never be treated on the assumption that they are committed believers, at whatever level (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p21, 16.8).

SCCORE, Bulletin 1, emphasises that Religious Education develops an understanding in pupils of the meaning of the worship that they participate in as a result of the school meeting its statutory requirement of Religious Observance. Although Religious Education and Religious Observance are delivered separately, they are in fact interdependent:

> [it is] necessary to distinguish also between the responsibilities of the school and of the RE teacher. The first is required in terms of statute to continue the practice of religious observance, the second to provide an RE curriculum which necessarily involves the study of worship as an aspect of religion (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p21, 16.5).

Worship beyond its classroom role for the purposes of understanding religion, is not however a matter that SCCORE, Bulletin 1, consider relevant to its remit:

> the wider question of religious observance in schools is not one for a curricular committee (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p21, 16.7).

The provisions for Religious Observance within the 5-14 National Guidelines of 1992 however, stress the aim of actually promoting spiritual development by involving pupils in religious practices such as prayer and meditation and in religious experience itself (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p55). Religious Observance should:

> reflect the broad consensus of Christian beliefs and values without being specific to any one denomination. This does not exclude the possibility of drawing on other religious traditions...allowing pupils from various religious backgrounds, or none, to take part with integrity and gain something from the experience (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p55).

In insisting that those of a different religious background or none should be able to participate without compromising themselves and should indeed profit from the experience, whilst observance ought to reflect Christian beliefs and values, the guidelines imply firstly - by ensuring participation in Christian practice - that Christian belief is being fostered, especially if pupils are participating with 'integrity' without which they could not in good conscience engage in Christian practice; secondly, by suggesting that those without a Christian background can participate similarly in the promotion of their spiritual development, it is implied that pupils ought to believe in spirituality as a concept, and ought to believe that they should develop the faculty. Whilst clearly not a concept unique to Christianity, it is clear that

there is a desire to foster spirituality because it is regarded as a component of Christian belief and to foster it in a Christian context.

In noting that, 'Religious Observance is a statutory requirement in schools under the Education (Scotland) Act 1980', the guidelines specifically draw attention to the fact that, 'An HMI report in 1989 also concluded that religious observance '*has a significant part to play in transcending the informative role of religious education''* (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p55, 6). The guidelines specify that the aim of religious observance is indeed to promote pupils' spiritual development, and therefore to involve them in religion. In part, as with the position of SCCORE, Bulletin 1, this is,

> To increase their understanding of religious practices such as prayer and meditation and the religious experience which underlies them(Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p55),

as taking part in religion as a religious person is a way to experience and understand religion, but it is also the aim of religious observance,

> to provide opportunity for individual reflection on spiritual and moral concerns (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p55),

or in other words to facilitate a religious act of the type performed by a religious person. It is a further aim:

> to promote the ethos of the school through the expression and celebration of shared values(Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p55).

The implication is that Christianity provides the shared values.

The ultimate objective of Curriculum for Excellence (2011) is to relate the significance of Christianity to Scottish society to the pupil's own values, to assist the formation of a belief. This is borne out in a consideration of the requirements for Religious Observance in the Curriculum for Excellence (2011).

> Religious observance needs to be developed in a way which reflects and understands...diversity. It should be sensitive to our traditions and origins and should seek to reflect these but it must equally be sensitive to individual spiritual needs and beliefs, whether these come from a faith or non-faith perspective (The Scottish Government, 2011e, p4.1).

In this there is the clear indication that 'our' 'traditions' and 'origins' are complemented by other perspectives to which respect and sensitivity must be shown, but which are nonetheless 'other'. Correspondingly, and referring to the Religious Observance Review Group's report of 2004:

> Scottish Government Ministers consider religious observance to be an important educational experience for children and young people at all stages of primary and secondary school... Ministers believe that learning and teaching can build on Scotland's strong Christian traditions without compromising them, while also promoting the understanding of, and respect for other faiths and beliefs (The Scottish Government, 2011e, p2).

> Scotland is a society with a longstanding Christian tradition. However, Scotland has for many generations also been home to many who have other faith and belief traditions, never more so than at present. This trend is likely to continue as Scotland remains a country where people from other communities are welcomed and we can

> expect Scotland to become increasingly diverse in the range of faith and belief traditions represented (The Scottish Government, 2011e, p4.1).
>
> In recognition of Scotland's Christian heritage, non-denominational schools are also encouraged to draw upon the rich resources of this tradition when planning religious observance. However, many school communities contain pupils and staff from faiths other than Christianity or with no faith commitment, and this must be taken fully into account in supporting spiritual development. It is of central importance that all pupils and staff can participate with integrity in forms of religious observance without compromise to their personal faith (The Scottish Government, 2011e, p2.1).

Worship, inherent in religious 'observance', is regarded as part of the learning process, as 'spiritual development', all of which should take place with due regard for the Christian traditions of the country while simultaneously ensuring those of a different faith or none can engage with good conscience.

> Scottish Government Ministers also accept the definition and aims of religious observance proposed by the Review Group as being: *"community acts which aim to promote the spiritual development of all members of the school's community and express and celebrate the shared values of the school community"* (The Scottish Government, 2011e, p2.7).

The implication is that expression and celebration of shared values is an aim with the proviso that such values are Christian. Curriculum for Excellence states:

> Religious observance has an important part to play in the development of the learner's four capacities: a successful learner, confident individual, responsible citizen and effective contributor. It should also provide opportunities for the school community to

> reflect upon and develop a deeper understanding of the dignity and worth of each individual and their contribution to the school and wider communities (The Scottish Government, 2011e, p2.8),

Worship is regarded as an integral component of the overall school curriculum. Without the educational gains derived from participation in worship, defined as spiritual, pupils will not achieve their broader learning goals, develop their personal attributes or indeed be able to undertake the responsibilities of citizenships and contribute to society.

The Curriculum for Excellence (2011) does not draw out the notion that understanding religion can only be possible through engagement with the practices to which its beliefs give rise; but it does state that 'spirituality' is a learning goal, and spirituality is inextricably linked to belief, and specifically to the beliefs of particular religions – especially Christianity – and to philosophies derived from such religions. Certainly pupils are to develop a belief in spirituality as a dimension of their existence in order to develop their capacities to be spiritual.

4.6 The Nature and Purpose of Religious Education regarding Religion as a body of knowledge to be taught and practiced.

4.6.1 The Millar Report, SCCORE 1, SCCORE 2, and the 5-14 National Guidelines present religion as a body of knowledge with which to provide meaning to human experience and transmit Christian moral values

In stating the general aims of the subject the Millar Report states that:

> religious education transcends the merely informative ... through understanding, and that is the task of the school. The teacher is not in the school to press the pupils to

> accept a faith, but to aid the development of their personalities. He must try to give his pupils the capacity to understand religious ideas, to explore the relation between religious and scientific interpretations of the universe and examine the implications of religious teaching for life in society today (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p62, 4.29).

Although this suggests the examination of religious ideas without any indoctrination of faith, a specifically religious 'interpretation' of the universe is set against a specifically scientific 'interpretation' as equally valid and capable of examination with the same educational approach. The report further states:

> Some writers have thought it appropriate to express the aims of religious education in noble phrases or in dignified religious language, by reference to 'the wonder of creation' or 'the mystery of life' or 'awareness of God'. In avoiding such terminology, we do not imply that such aims have no meaning or significance, but only that in the educational context it is important to use terms which can readily be translated into action appropriate to children and young people (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p60, 4.25)

There is an acceptance of the validity of the 'awareness of God' as an educational aim alongside an appreciation of 'the mystery of life' and the validity of 'creation'. The concern is to phrase these in a way that will assist in the achievement of the aims, which is explicitly in accordance with views of those Christian organisations submitting evidence for the report, for whom these aims represent 'deeper aspects of the human situation' than other subjects consider:

> The Church of Scotland Education Committee, the Association of Teachers of Religious Education in Secondary Schools in Scotland, and the Christian Education Movement incorporate in their varied aims the idea of education for life...The aim of religious education is essentially the same of that of education as a whole, to enable the child to recognise and develop his particular gifts and aptitudes, to relate different bodies of knowledge to each other, and to consider some of the deeper aspects of the human situation (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p60, 4.32).

As one submission considering the role of the subject in child development concurred:

> Wilson...'Without the ability to be aware of one's own feelings- perhaps particularly the unconscious feelings – and to change those feelings by reflection, discussion and other methods, it seems unlikely that any person can be successfully educated in religion.'...approach is clear and concise...however, it is too rational and ordered, and more needs to be said about the religious sense and the emotional and imaginative aspects of religion (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p63, 4.31).

Indeed,

> Instruction in the religious and spiritual dimensions of life is seen by many as an essential part of a child's and a young person's development at all levels (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p40, 3.9).

In considering what the aims of the subject should be during the 1970s, the report is happy to state without critical comment that there is a God to be believed in and that there is a meaning to life:

> views on this question can in general be summed ...enlightenment... general approach should be a joint exploration by teachers and pupils of the meaning of life and the importance for their own lives...of the nature of the 'God' they believe in. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p39, 3.8).

Religion as a body of knowledge is therefore a necessary component in education, as is Christianity in particular:

> Some Church and Christian bodies...lay special stress on the fact that as Scotland's heritage, culture and faith is Christian the general aim should relate directly to the teaching of Christianity and the inculcation of Christian values, and that a central place should be given to the Bible (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p37, 3.4);

and accordingly:

> They [children] have the right to hear the answers given in the Bible and by the Christian faith as well as by other religions and philosophies...need to be made aware of their Christian heritage...the relevance of religion to present day living must be shown...Special attention, the evidence reiterates, must be paid to the Bible as the basis of the Christian understanding of life and the Christian ethic (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p39, 3.8).

The use of the phrase 'the right' in respect of the proposed content of the curriculum regarding the Christian heritage, understanding of life, and Christian ethic, places an emphasis on the importance of transmitting the Christian heritage, culture and values as the purpose of the subject in a manner that accords with the 'inculcation of Christian values' recommended as the aim of the subject by Church and Christian bodies.

The challenge from 'the secular way of thinking' is noted:

> the authority of the Church, and with it much orthodox theistic theology and ethics, have come under great pressure from the secular way of thinking...In this situation orthodox theology often seems to have little to offer (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p65, 2).

The defence is on the basis of the role and importance of Christianity in society and the formation of not just of moral positions but specifically the notion of 'care' and the centrality of Christianity to discussions about the needs of humanity as for example exemplified in the works and life of Bonhoeffer:

> but religious education must help young people to understand the importance of such caring and its religious roots, and along with moral education should give guide lines for assessing the nature of such care and deciding what are desirable actions and modes of living. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p65, 2).

The report also suggests that theological debates of the time are to be used to address this secular challenge as a way of deepening religious appreciation amongst pupils:

> ...an important element in the current theological and biblical debate – its stress on the immanent and human. The debate and discussion on how this is related to the transcendent and supernatural will go on and must be utilised by teachers...which will deepen the understanding of the pupils and so giving them new possibilities in their understanding of themselves and life (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p67, 10).

The emphasis on refuting a secular challenge to religious education is equally a refutation of a secular approach to education as a whole. In considering the religious development of the pupil,

> Goldman is convinced that our pupils often develop wrong religious concepts (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p58, 4.16).

The term, 'wrong', is not italicised or in parenthesis and that is quite deliberate. The point being made is simply that pupils are seen to need to develop before they can grasp concepts which authors deem 'true', which requires a programme of developmental religious education, and as such,

> No education, least of all in the moral and religious sphere, can be considered in the isolation of school life. The home, the church, and the community must be regarded as part of the whole pattern... (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p60, 4.22).

Accordingly,

> A distinction is therefore necessary between the task of the school and that of the Church, the home, and other institutions. Much religious education is, of course, done outside the school...the school can make its own particular contribution – and to an extent that is becoming greater with the passage of time (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p53, 4.1).

and therefore,

> the place of moral and religious education (particularly the latter) in the school must be justified on educational grounds and that the nature...must be determined by educational considerations (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p53, 4.1).

When it is noted that the subject must be 'justified on educational grounds', and that there is a 'distinction...between...school and...Church', the report is not implying secularisation of subject. In fact the observation that much religious education is 'done outside school' but equally noting 'school...contribution...becoming greater', the report is implying that secularisation of society increases the role of school in instructional religious education, which constitutes a rare acknowledgement of a change in attitude to the Christian culture of the country but further evidence of an intent to promote that culture.

Accordingly, when considering the nature of school involvement in specifically moral education, it is reported that in their submission the Humanist group, 'wants moral education to be taught objectively' and stated that:

> 'We are not convinced that religious education, at present, has any beneficial effect on the moral standards of pupils...and there is some evidence that it may be positively harmful' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p42, 3.12).

In contrast the submission from Scripture Union stated that:

> '...moral education in the school situation *cannot* be taught neutrally – the teacher must come down on certain issues and there the Christian viewpoint must surely be represented...It is hard to see how the Christian faith can be divorced from moral questions for social and moral values are *integral* to it.' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p42, 3.12).

In assessing these perspectives the report considers the teaching of moral education from the perspective of intellectual development. Pupils deemed to be of high ability,

> working with complex ideas in science and literature...they look for a similar intellectual challenge in religious education... (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p55, 4.6),

whilst,

> Other less able pupils...conventional approach, relying heavily on an intellectual appreciation of Bible and belief about the existence of God, is quite unrewarding. On the other hand the simple goodness of Jesus...has an immediate appeal at an emotional level... (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p55, 4.7).

The report is not considering an approach to moral education that can be distinguished from religious education, merely the means of delivery. Belief in God and the importance of belief is still assumed.

The report contains an entire section considering studies in child intellectual development and capacity and the nature of the development of morality, not as themes for study in moral education but as means of determining when and how children may be moralised, emphasising an instructional approach and the development of conformity, and concluding:

> The common theme in all these studies is that moral development is a gradual progression from the egocentric through a period of conformity to the formation of moral principles...the teenage years mark a stage when the simple code is re-examined...it provides a means by which moral principles become genuinely personal (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p57, 4.13).

In contrast, the overriding concern of SCCORE, Bulletin 1, of 1978 is in justifying the position of Religious and Moral Education within the school curriculum by claiming a

spiritual dimension within human beings that is to be educated as a particular area of knowledge to provide individuals with the means to deal with personal problems (of indeterminate nature) and meet their non-material needs and the religious aspects of their lives by the application of a religiously determined value system. Religious beliefs, attitudes, and experience determine social and personal values and provide a framework for moral evaluation:

> Education deals with human growth and development, which has a spiritual dimension, accepted by educationalists as an area of proper concern to the schools. Religious education seeks to explore the contribution in this context of religious belief, attitudes and experience...The strength of the educational contribution should be recognised by all – a contribution resulting from pupils' growing appreciation of religion as (a) a distinctive domain of knowledge and a way of interpreting experience and substantiating values; (b) a distinctive framework which helps them to focus attention on fundamental questions and personal problems, and (c) a motivating force in creative work in the field of art, music and literature; in moral and civil law; and in social customs (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p2, 3.1).

> SCCORE started from the premise that the school and the teacher have a duty, arising from their professional commitment to meet pupils' needs, to provide for those pupils an opportunity to explore the non-material and religious aspects of life, accepting that they come to religious education from different standpoints and should be helped to arrive at their own answers (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, pviii, 2)..

Moreover, the report seeks to determine the elements common to religions which make study in the field a distinctive endeavour, (religious experience and religious social ethics and

culture) even if it does not seek to enforce the particular nature of the subject that this would imply upon any local curriculum:

> Evidence reaching SCCORE seems to suggest people may interpret religious education in four distinct ways, ie as: the study of religion – the religious experience of man, religious studies – religions of the world, the study of a religion – a way of life, an influence in culture, literature and social ethics etc, the study of Christianity....SCCORE sees its purpose as to set out curricular principles capable of application in any of these interpretations putting forward only a plea that a religious education course should aim...for some exploration of religion and for the study of particular faiths. (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p2, 2.2).
>
> ...it [re] is capable of widely differing interpretations, each acceptable in context (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, pviii, 2).

Indeed, where SCCORE, Bulletin 1 explicitly states the aims of religious education, it is clearly intended that pupils engage with the perspectives which religion presents to questions which religion poses and to understand the consequences for society of acting upon the answers to such questions:

> (a) to identify with pupils the area of religion in human experience; (b) to enable pupils to explore questions about the nature and meaning of existence and the answers that religions offer; (c) to help pupils understand the nature and importance of commitment whether within a religious or secular context and to appreciate what it means to be committed to a particular way of life; and (d) to encourage in pupils an awareness of the wider social and cultural impact of religions (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p5, 2).

The aims do not directly state that they refer in the main to an understanding of Christianity, and indeed in noting that because religious education is:

> not the only subject in the curriculum concerned with meaning, fundamental questions and values...It is usefull therefore to have points of reference which distinguish RE. These arise from the essential nature of religion (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p6, 7.1),

it is evident that SCCORE Bulletin 1 is justifying the place of religious education in the curriculum, and doing so in a way the Millar Report found unnecessary. Bulletin 1 notes:

> While the essential nature of religion cannot be equated with the sum of the elements common to the religions of mankind, RE obviously requires that pupils be introduced to the most significant of these elements (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p6, 7.2),

and identifies the elements common to all religions as:

> Transcendence...Communication...Relationship...Response...Meaning... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p6, 7.2),

and determines these to be:

> a useful checklist against which the content of an RE programme can be assessed and its objectives determined (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p6, 7.3).

Similarly, SCCORE, Bulletin 2 considers that:

> Religious education is concerned with the development of the understanding of religion as a significant area of human experience (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1,1.1).,

where,

> 'Understanding' is used in a wide sense, being concerned with feeling and empathetic insight as well as an intellectual grasp of certain information. It will issue in some response on the part of the learner (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.2),

the response being the acceptance and practice of the values being instilled.

The 5-14 National Guidelines likewise stress the importance of a study of religion as:

> a significant area of human experience. This is true in history and in the contemporary world. As such, it is worthy of study by pupils so that they can have some understanding of one of the prime motivating factors behind human behaviour, both individual and social (Scottish Office Education Department,1992, p1),

with the understanding that:

> The importance of religion is not confined to appreciating the historical and social role of religion. There is also a personal dimension linked to the individual's search for answers to questions about meaning, value and purpose in life (Scottish Office Education Department,1992, p1).

As with SCCORE, Bulletin 2, the intent is to produce a 'response' in the learner, an engagement with religion itself as an educational aim, but not exclusively with Christianity.

Christianity may be the primary focus in understanding religion itself but chosen for that task not because of the nature of the particular religion but because of its historic place in Scottish culture.

4.6.2 Christianity as the historic basis of the religious and social culture of Scotland

The Millar Report conveys the view that Christian religion, as the historic basis of the religious and social culture of the country, is the basis on which religious and moral education is present in the curriculum and the perspective from which it should be approached. The Christian nature of the culture provides the educational justification for the subject and its focus on Christianity. Its purpose is to convey an understanding of that culture and moreover, to inculcate an engagement with it. Whilst SCCORE, Bulletin 1 outlines a consideration of the elements of religion, the religion in question, by virtue of the limited consideration of other religions and world views, is Christianity (cf Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p4, 5.2). The emphasis in SCCORE, Bulletin 2, is not exclusively on Christianity. Rather, pupils are to identify religious belief and have a 'response' to it which might be the acceptance or formation of a belief or a critical engagement with specific beliefs. The 5-14 National Guidelines require both critical engagement and articulation of a position in respect of belief (cf Scottish Office Education Department,1992, p1.1). Within Curriculum for Excellence, Christianity, maintains a dominant place within the curriculum because of its historic and, arguably more importantly and significantly, the view that it is of distinct contemporary relevance to Scottish society, and pupils are to articulate a religious position of their own on that basis.

4.7 Religions other than Christianity and Non-Religious Viewpoints within Religious and Moral Education as a means of understanding commitment and the importance of developing a moral stance for living

The Millar Report makes a particular reference to religions other than Christianity:

> Since there is a growing number of non-Christian children in Scottish schools coming from a Hindu or Islamic background, it is worth noting that there has been a growing dialogue between Christian theologians and those of other religions....There is clearly an important place for the study of comparative religion in schools, but it is a task which demands considerable competence and understanding (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p67, 8).

The report considers that religions other than Christianity may be relevant, but as useful tools for developing comparative religious study, and raises the concern that teachers would require a grounding in these religions. The report does not suggest that religions other than Christianity should be regarded as of equal value for study, but the report presents a particular view of the position and importance of Christianity and the purpose behind its study that would preclude such a treatment of other religions.

In contrast, SCCORE, Bulletin 1, points out that there is debate as to the value of including a study of religions other than Christianity largely due to the erroneous assumption by many that the religion studied should be that of the person studying it. The acknowledgement in the Millar Report of the existence of pupils from religious backgrounds other than Christianity is not relevant. The point of study here is rather to allow an understanding of ‘others’, recognising the limited influence of those religions, but also to increase the sense of

relevance of existing personal beliefs, although not, it should be noted, to change them or test them against those of other religions:

> Critics of their inclusion...point out that Scotland's immigrant population is small. This is to misunderstand the educational reasons underlying the suggested presence of world religions within the curriculum, and indeed the role of the school in religious education (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p4, 5.1)

> It is helpful for pupils to understand the influence of these religions upon believers in the interest of mutual acceptance and respect. Such study can afford new insight and a deepening understanding of personal beliefs (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p4, 5.2).

> The RE programme should have a place for the wider look at religion, at what religions have in common as well as for the consideration of particular faiths (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p4, 5.3).

A comparative study of features common to religions is used to understand religion as a phenomenon or an area of knowledge. The study of major world religions also has a:

> ...distinctive contribution to make..because major world religions express their beliefs through their moral codes and because in offering the religious framework of experience, raising fundamental questions, helping pupils to understand the nature of commitment it helps pupils to evaluate the underlying authority, the differing life styles that result from varying moral patterns (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p7, 8.3).

In this sense the study would allow a grasp of the concept of commitment which will assist the pupil in understanding the importance of arriving at a moral stance for living.

Accordingly, Bulletin 1 considers:

> Religion as a distinctive mode of understanding and way of interpreting experience...Religion as a distinctive framework which helps pupils to focus on fundamental issues such as identity, inter-personal relationships, and the nature and meaning of existence (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p13, 12.2).

Correspondingly a study of the major religions is subsumed into a study of religion in general, with the aim of helping pupils:

> explore questions about the nature and meaning of existence and the answers that religions offer; ... understand the nature and importance of commitment whether within a religious or secular context and to appreciate what it means to be committed to a particular way of life (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum,1978, p5,2).

SCCORE, Bulletin 2, considers that a study of Christianity and a study of other religions has the same use, that of allowing the development of a systematic understanding of religions and religion in order that religious perspectives can be understood and applied in a context where the relevance of the perspective is made manifest to the pupil (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii, 2). SCCORE, Bulletin 2, is concerned with demonstrating that the study of religion whilst representing the study of a distinctive body of knowledge, is also a study of a body of knowledge that can be applied at a practical level by the pupil. This is the relevance of the study. Indeed:

> The religions of the world are the classic expressions of this search [for meaning, value and purpose in life] and, for many people, provide the context of meaning, value and purpose within which experience is to be understood. (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.5).

> The great religions...Without assuming the correctness of their answers, or giving them an authority greater than they are able to command for themselves...provide a core of subject matter for religious education. There should also be some study of other stances for living which are seriously engaged in the same search (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p2, 2.2).

The importance of the study of world religions, although no specific religions are specified, excepting Christianity, is to assist the personal search, wherein lies the importance of the subject. In fact:

> The pupil need not agree with the ideas, feelings or actions of the believers being studied. He may, in fact, be repelled by certain religious practices or opposed to certain moral attitudes (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p10, 4.14)

The pupil will make an evaluation of the religion:

> from the point of view of its personal significance or relevance to him in his search for meaning, value and purpose in life (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p12, 4.17).

The 5-14 National Guidelines, of course stress the place of Christianity resulting from its historic influence, but also note the place of other religions, without necessarily specifying

which are to be studied. Significantly, it is considered impossible to provide a similar breadth and depth of knowledge and understanding of these religions as for Christianity:

> In particular, Christianity has shaped the history and traditions of Scotland and continues to exert an influence on national life. Other major religions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism, are also represented. It would not be possible to develop a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of all these faiths within the school curriculum (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1)

This is despite the statement that the outcomes and targets for the study of Christianity and whichever other religions are chosen are identical. Each religion will cover the same themes:

> The strands for Christianity and Other World Religions are identical. They are: Celebrations, festivals, ceremonies and customs; Sacred writings, stories and key figures; Beliefs; Sacred places, worship and symbols; Moral values and attitudes (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p5).

The emphasis is on covering such religions as might be encountered in practice by pupils, a view contrasting with SCCORE Bulletin 1 which wishes to move attention away from the importance of the religion of the individual pupil but similar to that of the Millar Report. The focus however is on developing tolerance of differing individual outlooks and of a 'responsible attitude' to other individuals, with no particular emphasis on one religion being that of the majority:

> Through developing awareness and appreciation of the value of each individual in a diverse society, religious and moral education engenders responsible attitudes to other people. This awareness and appreciation will assist in counteracting prejudice and

> intolerance as children and young people consider issues such as sectarianism and discrimination more broadly (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1),
>
> it is important that while recognising the role of Christianity as the major religious tradition of this country, pupils should also be encouraged to develop understanding of and respect for people of other faiths and people who adopt a non-religious stance for living (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

In meeting this challenge it must be recognised that Christianity is the major religious tradition in Scotland but pupils will be encouraged, 'to develop understanding of and respect for people of other faiths and people who adopt a non-religious stance for living' (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1), which implies that the majority of pupils are deemed to exist within the Christian tradition rather than what is clearly regarded as the minority position of those of a non-religious disposition.

Similarly to SCCORE, Bulletin 2, though, the 5-14 Guidelines view a study of religions as a means of establishing personal values and the development of the skill of being moral, which of course requires the construction of a moral framework, or frame of reference for a moral decision making process:

> Religious and moral education enables children and young people to explore the world's major religions and views which are independent of religious belief and to consider the challenges posed by these beliefs and values. It supports them in developing and reflecting upon their values and their capacity for moral judgement (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

This is necessary because:

> Scotland is a nation whose people hold a wide range of beliefs... Such diversity enriches the Scottish nation and serves as an inspiring and thought-provoking background for our children and young people to develop their own beliefs and values (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

The beliefs of the pupils are to be both challenged and stimulated by the existence of religious, and therefore moral, diversity.

The Curriculum for Excellence (2011) for Religious and Moral Education takes a similar view:

> In planning learning and teaching in religious and moral education, teachers will be able to sensitively take account of and value the religious and cultural diversity within their own local communities, using relevant contexts which are familiar to young people (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2).

Indeed, Curriculum for Excellence (2011) begins with a statement of the value of diversity as it assists the formation of personal beliefs:

> Scotland is a nation whose people hold a wide range of beliefs... Such diversity enriches the Scottish nation and serves as an inspiring and thought-provoking background for our children and young people to develop their own beliefs and values (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

The intention throughout is to assist with the development of belief and value. The new element introduced within the Curriculum for Excellence (2011) is the skills-based outline of the curriculum document. The rationale for the subject can be inferred but is never stated clearly. Three outcomes are worthy of consideration. The pupil will be able to:

> investigate and understand the responses which religious and non-religious views can offer to questions about the nature and meaning of life (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1);
>
> reflect upon...responses to the challenges and opportunities presented by religious and cultural diversity and extend this reflection from the Scottish to the global context. (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p4, RME 4-03b);
>
> develop respect for others and an understanding of beliefs and practices which are different from their own (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

The emphasis seems to be upon developing a personal belief from consideration of these various viewpoints which evaluates their significance for, and relevance to, the pupil's own experience in a manner which instils respect for divergence of beliefs and allows the formation of a sense of identity related to the Scottish and Global contexts.

Beyond the position of Christianity, there is no specification of religions to be studied and the curriculum does permit the study of non-religious viewpoints, noting:

> The experiences and outcomes in development of beliefs and values support the development of broader understanding and permeate learning and teaching (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

Such broader aims are present in the reference to secular context in SCCORE Bulletin 1 (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum,1978, p5,2), highlights the importance to SCCORE of the notion of commitment and having a value structure, as that is necessary for commitment to exist. Bulletin 1 makes no other reference to secular influences and makes no reference to non-religious viewpoints at all. It is concerned with locating the study of

Religious and Moral Education within a study of religion which is a distinctive area of study because of the elements common to religion which distinguish it from other areas of study:

> Transcendence...Communication...Relationship...Response...Meaning... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p6, 7.1 -7.2).

The Millar report does consider non-religious views. When discussing the secularisation of society and the position of Religious and Moral Education within the school (as noted on pp195-6 as a provider of knowledge of Christian moral values), the report states:

> A distinction is therefore necessary between the task of the school and that of the Church, the home, and other institutions....the school can make its own particular contribution – and to an extent that is becoming greater with the passage of time (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p53, 4).

The implication here is that the secularisation of society has increased the role of the school in providing Religious and Moral Education as a means also of developing a moral stance for living, as the role of the other institutions has diminished; rather than that the nature of Religious and Moral Education in schools is different in type.

The report in fact regards the secularisation of society as dangerous and that Religious and Moral Education has a role in combating its worst excesses:

> This approach regards as much more radical and sweeping the implications for religious education of the secularisation of present day society....to regard life from a non-theistic and even totally non-religious standpoint...On the other hand much of what is ominous and disturbing in the life of contemporary society, particularly the

> increasing acceptance of violence, may well spring from spiritual deprivation (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p79, 5.33)

In a discussion concerning the specifically moral aspect of the subject, the report cites the submission of humanist groups to the committee:

> Humanist groups [suggest that] One of the main aims of a state educational system should be to assist in the integration of our social system. [Religious and Moral Education should be] replaced with ethical teaching...with definite courses on moral education (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p39, 3.7).

The Millar Report addresses humanist and secular views but in no sense suggests their recognition as distinct viewpoints for consideration within the curriculum. Indeed, in an outline of material which might be included in a syllabus the report mentions, 'Humanism and helping' under the heading, 'Practical Christian Service' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p78, 5.32).

The Curriculum for Excellence notes:

> Viewpoints independent of religious belief can be considered within the learning and teaching approaches adopted for Christianity and world religions selected for study. The experiences and outcomes in development of beliefs and values support the development of broader understanding and permeate learning and teaching (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2).

That is to say, non-religious views are to be utilised to the same end as religious views, to contribute to the development of moral views.

> The context of study of world religions including Christianity will often lead teachers to appropriate points where viewpoints independent of religious belief, values and practices, and traditions can be considered. An illustrative example is that of the opportunity provided when exploring a religion's moral values or response to a social issue also to explore corresponding or alternative moral values which are independent of religious belief (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2).

Over the period then, religions other than Christianity and non-religious viewpoints are indeed present in the curriculum as a response to the existence of these standpoints within society; but they are nonetheless regarded as minority viewpoints with Christianity the dominant perspective: Christianity, religions other than Christianity and non-religious viewpoints are not studied alongside each other as independent, objective studies with no need to formally evaluate the personal significance of the views or test their strength for responding to contemporary issues as would be the case if they were regarded as equally valid expressions; rather the reverse is the case precisely because a belief must be formed on the basis of an evaluation of viewpoints and their applicability to the particular society in which they are being studied. They form an important part in the pupil's personal search for meaning, value and purpose.

4.8 The Search for Meaning, Value and Purpose

4.8.1 The Relevance of the Search for Meaning, Value and Purpose to the Pupil's Experience of Life

The Millar Report sought to ground the rationale of Religious and Moral Education in educational terms by highlighting the relevance of the subject to the holistic development of young people:

> ...one additional guiding principle is that religious education be seen as *relevant*...appropriate to the stages of development. Relevance also refers to the society in which we live...Today there is a growing interest not only in a re-interpretation of the biblical documents, but also in a restatement of the essential truths of the Christian faith in the light of their relevance for modern man...religious instruction... must yield to a more open-ended examination of experience. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p64, 4.33)

The report suggests that the subject matter of Religious Education should be approached in a manner consistent with the educational level of the pupils in question and with regard to the subject's relevance to an understanding of the nature of contemporary society, within which the 'truth' of the Christian faith is taken as read. More particularly though, the report recommends an engagement with *experience* in general, ensuring the relevance of the Christian faith as a response to experience, as an ontological framework from which to address the questions which arise from that experience through engagement with different interpretative standpoints and the relation of these to the lives of the pupils and to their approach to life, from the philosophical perspective.

In likewise stating the educational justification for Religious Education, we have seen that SCCORE, Bulletin 1, specifies that the educational contribution of the subject results from pupils' appreciation of religion as:

> (a) a distinctive domain of knowledge and a way of interpreting experience and substantiating values; (b) a distinctive framework which helps them to focus attention on fundamental questions and personal problems (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p2, 3.1).

The importance here is the notion of engagement with religion as a means of understanding experience in general and as relevant also to the lived experience of pupils, in this case as respectively a means of interpreting and resolving fundamental questions and of addressing personal problems resulting from experience of life, through the recognition of particular values and their place in the social context.

SCCORE, Bulletin 2, contains the first clear articulation of the pupil's search for meaning, value and purpose, as a response to experience of life and how to address the questions which arise, from both the philosophical perspective and in practical terms relating to behaviour. Considering the content of the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education, Bulletin 2 sets out the central emphases of the curriculum guidelines and asks if the material will help pupils:

> become aware of the aspects of their own experience which figure significantly in their personal search for meaning, value and purpose? examine issues in relation to the questions which probe the meaning, value and purpose of life? explain the different aspects of their own search from their own point of view? apply their point of view to specific situations? (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii,2).

SCCORE, Bulletin 2, identifies three possible approaches to Religious and Moral Education: emphasising religions and stances for living which include a systematic study of religion; emphasising the pupil's search, as articulated above; and combining both emphases. Regardless of the approach adopted, SCCORE stress the importance of relating the material to the experiences of the pupils. When a religion is studied the significance of beliefs should be explained not just as they relate to believers but so that they relate to experiences and questions held by the pupils (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii, 2). The

aim is to allow the pupils to use the content of the curriculum as a mechanism to achieving personally relevant meaning.

In understanding the nature of religion and religions, pupils see the relevance to themselves:

> If the emphasis is on religions or other stances for living...Does the material help pupils to: develop a systematic understanding of religions and religion? explain religious phenomena from the believer's point of view? apply religious perspectives? see that religions are concerned with the same kinds of questions as those which are important to them? (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii, 2).

In a similar vein the 5-14 National Guidelines, in their rationale for Religious and Moral Education, state:

> Education is about the development of the whole person. Religious and Moral Education deals with the development of the person in relation to self-awareness, relationships with others, and the realm of beliefs, values and practices which go to make up a religious outlook on life. As such it makes an important contribution to the personal and social development of pupils (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1)

The focus on the relation between beliefs and personal development is similar to that found in the earlier documents, with the added notion of social development which implies that the subject will assist in developing skills of interaction, clarified by reference to the need to meet the challenge of, 'The many different beliefs and attitudes found in today's pluralistic Scotland' (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

In this respect religion is considered significant enough in society to warrant a consideration of the relationship between the position of religion in the home, religion in the school and religion in the community and to point out that religious education accordingly has a role in personal growth.

> The Report of the Scottish Committee on Home – School – Community Relations in the Primary School defined...aspects of religious education...'Religious education...is also an aspect of personal growth enabling the individual to explore questions concerning the meaning of life and the value of the individual interpreted in relation to what is beyond man.' (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

Presumably since it may be argued that an individual is formed by the environmental influences at work in the community or society, Religious Education is an important part of that formation if religion is an important part of the community or society, and it is therefore within the context of such a society's religious worldview that the individual understands the meaning and value of their life. Indeed:

> Religion is a significant area of human experience. This is true in history and in the contemporary world. As such, it is worthy of study by pupils so that they can have some understanding of one of the prime motivating factors behind human behaviour, both individual and social (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

The guidelines note that there is a personal dimension linked to the individual's search for answers to questions about meaning, value and purpose in life, and asserts moreover that there is an instinctive relationship between the individual and religion in the form of religious questions resulting naturally from various experiences and emotional reactions to those experiences:

> The importance of religion is not confined to appreciating the historical and social role of religion. There is also a personal dimension linked to the individual's search for answers to questions about meaning, value and purpose in life. Such questions may be felt intuitively by younger children, in response to experiences of awe, joy and sadness, and may be expressed more or less articulately by older pupils (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

Religious Education is seen as relevant to education as a means of enabling pupils to formulate a response to the experience of life, albeit one which dictates not only the worldview from which the response to experience must be drawn but interprets what that experience is in itself: a religious response to a religious experience.

4.8.2 The Search for Meaning, Value and Purpose as a Response to the Experience of Life

4.8.2a The requirement of Religious Education that pupils acquire moral values

Referring to the Moral Education component of the subject, the Millar Report defines this as:

> education specifically aimed at developing an understanding of moral issues and personal relationships and the formation of a code of behaviour (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p21, 2.67)

A study of moral issues and of the role of morality in personal relationships might otherwise be known as 'values education': 'Values education is known internationally by a number of names, including moral education, character education and ethics education' (Lovat, 2010, p3). 'Values education is still a relative newcomer in educational theory and practice' (Nielson, 2010, p619), and as Pring (2010) notes:

> It is only comparatively recently that the teaching of values has become widespread as an explicit focus of curriculum thinking and practising. In the last 50 years or so, the importance of *teaching* values has been seen to be paramount (Pring, 2010, pv),

and therefore,

> 'values education' in educational practices has more often than not been addressed only implicitly and therefore uncritically (Pring, 2010, pv).

There is here then, in its infancy, in the Millar Report, the attempt to directly engage pupils in a critical fashion to establish a particular moral standpoint with its consideration of personal relationships, as a practical response to experience of life and a means of dictating behavioural responses. In the broader context this is:

> ...a common theme born of a growing belief that entering into the world of personal and societal values is a legitimate and increasingly important role for teachers and schools to play (Lovat, 2010, p3).

> Values education...embraces throughout the experiences of young people the broader view of what it means to develop as a person. Additionally, such development embraces feelings as well as thoughts, dispositions to act as well as knowledge of right actions, a sense of community as well as individual autonomy, social sensitivity as well as individual flourishing (Lovat, 2010, p11)

However, as we have seen, when the Millar Report asked schools, 'Is any special provision made for moral education...for delinquent...children?' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p24, 2.76), the use of the term 'delinquent' implies a view of normalcy and deviance from normalcy. One answer to the question, 'When the home is of low moral standard our task is

well-nigh impossible' (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p24, 2.76), presents historical, period-centric language and a concept of morality which suggests there exists a concept of normalcy in moral conduct and that Religious and Moral Education has a role in transmitting those values and a sense of the need to conform. There is the sense that pupils will be encouraged to engage with the area of morality in order to understand why a particular stance should be adopted, but there is no sense that different moral stances should be recognised as valid. The purpose is to transmit a Christian value-system and the aim is for pupils to engage with those values and accept them, an approach which is supported by modern considerations into the efficacy of values education which challenge value-neutral settings for the consideration of moral issues:

> International research into teaching and schooling effects is overturning earlier beliefs that values were exclusively the preserve of families and religious bodies and that, as a result, schools function best in values-neutral mode (Lovat, 2010, p3),

supporting a view that schools act as a means of propagating particular values and associated behaviour even where not shared in the individual pupil's home or religious context.

Indeed, in defence of the subject SCCORE Bulletin 1 considered that it was necessary to note:

> the vital contribution that religious education has to make in the development of the personality of a young person and ... the part that spiritual and moral values play in that development (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p12, 12.1).

The acquisition of moral values is of prime importance within the subject, and despite contemporary claims that SCCORE Bulletin 1 refrains from the notion of inculcating beliefs (Whaling, 1980) – the denial of which itself suggests there existed opposition to a subject

seeking to inculcate particular values - the attempt to encourage pupils to engage with personal issues and deepen personal belief and adopt moral values as a result is clearly a desire to do just that, especially when the nature of the beliefs and values being encouraged is determined by the material with which the pupils are engaging; in other words, the Religious and Moral Education curriculum.

Making the issue more specific, the Millar Report recommends that particular behaviours – the example given is of caring - be taught in relation to the Christian faith such that pupils recognise why they ought to behave in a particular way:

> religious education must help young people to understand the importance of ... caring and its religious roots, and along with moral education should give guidelines for assessing the nature of such care and deciding what are desirable actions and modes of living. (Scottish Education Department, 1972, p65, 2).

Similarly, SCCORE Bulletin 1, in considering the place of other world religions within the curriculum, sees a study of these as affording, 'new insight and a deepening understanding of personal beliefs' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p4, 5.2). In a rapidly changing society where the Christian tradition is challenged in its role of giving spiritual and moral perspective, the school must show, 'that stable spiritual and moral values are required if life is to be truly human' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1978, p12, 12.1). Certain behaviours are integral to 'true' humanity. This viewpoint extending from the Millar Report is contemporary with that of Soviet Educationalist Vasyl Sukhomlinsky: 'Sukhomlinsky posited that morality constituted the true spiritual basis of the person and, therefore, must constitute the basis of education' (Sukhomlinsky, 2010, p550). His, 'Main argument was a conviction that absolutely each child granted the relevant education can reach the highest peak of morality' (Sukhomlinsky, 2010, p551); views which were widespread to

the extent that: ‘There is a consensus in the classic sociology literature that the processes of education are suffused with values and moral purpose’ (Robinson and Campbell, 2010, p76). In this respect the search for meaning, value and purpose is seeking to transform the values of the pupils where these may be at odds with Christian values.

Noting that in a world, ‘where identity is thought to be more flexibly, more actively and more individually *constructed*, than socially imposed (Giddens, 1991)’ (Robinson and Campbell, 2010, p76), the analysis of the French sociologist and philosopher, Emile Durkheim prevalent during the period under consideration, ‘seems to modern sensibility too categorical’ (Robinson and Campbell, 2010, p76).

However, Durkheim stated that:

> the education system functions for society as an apparatus for the formation, the reproduction, or the reinforcement of moral identity and moral order. Society was ‘a certain intellectual and moral framework, distinctive of the entire group...society is above all a shared consciousness and it is therefore this collective consciousness that must be imparted to the child (as cited in Durkheim, 1961,pvii) (Robinson and Campbell, 2010, p76).

This is precisely the approach revealed in the early documents, that of transmitting Christian culture and values, and when Robinson and Campbell (2010) observe the OECD view that by 1990, ‘school is becoming the only universally experienced site for the formation of moral identity’ (Robinson and Campbell, 2010, p77), it is clear that the Durkheim analysis persisted.

The 5-14 National Guidelines accordingly note a challenge in contemporary society to notions of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, notions which spring from the Christian tradition:

> In this country in particular, it is often argued that 'the Christian ethic' is at the basis of our laws and moral values....Traditional ideas about right and wrong are continually challenged by new circumstances and new technology (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2).

Presumably the reference to the challenge of technology relates to advances in science and medicine and the resulting ethical considerations. There is no explanation as to the place of the 'Christian ethic' in such considerations or indeed any religious standpoint. However:

> This gives rise to two complementary aspects of moral education: appreciation of common values such as honesty, liberty, justice, fairness, respect for others; and a personal process of clarification of values and decision-making to enable the individual to cope with change (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2).

The 'clarification' clearly does not envisage the possibility of rejecting the value of 'honesty, liberty, justice, fairness, respect for others'; rather it must be imagined that engagement with these values through consideration of relevant moral issues will affirm their value.

Arthur and Wilson (2010) highlight, 'the virtues of responsibility, honesty, self-reliance, reliability, generosity, self-discipline and a sense of identity and purpose' as components of 'character' which, 'is about who we are and who we become' (Arthur and Wilson, 2010, p340), lamenting however an erosion of a British tradition of virtue language in education which in their opinion has resulted in an impoverished modern discourse on character, which has in turn created an absence of coherence in the rationale for education (Arthur and Wilson, 2010, p340), which is clearly not the case within the 5-14 Guidelines which accord with their discussion on the formation of identity and purpose.

Pupils are to:

> Develop their own beliefs, attitudes, moral values and practices though a process of personal search, discovery and critical evaluation (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2).

They are however, simultaneously to:

> Demonstrate the ability to understand and apply the principles of fairness, justice, tolerance etc. (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p13).

There is clearly an intent to engender acceptance of particular values: 'understanding and applying' values which are 'appreciated'. It is difficult to define 'appreciated' as meaning 'understood' when the word 'understanding' is used in proximity and would therefore be redundant. Rather, these values are to be accepted.

Nonetheless:

> In relation to issues involving prejudice, e.g. race, religion, gender; recognise situations involving moral conflict, show awareness of alternative viewpoints and be able to offer a personal opinion, backed by reasons (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p13).

The intention here may be less to allow 'deviant' views to be held as much as to allow them to emerge in order to be countered by the majority viewpoint and confirm the legitimacy of a particular stance.

The curriculum should attempt to:

> develop attitudes of open inquiry and interest in religious and moral matters, as well as tolerance and respect for others (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p6),

and,

> ...pupils should be encouraged to express their own views and feelings and to listen with respect to the views and feelings of others (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1),
>
> ...In meeting that challenge ... schools will need to create an ethos in which differences are seen to be welcome enrichments (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

It must be noted that commonly the limit of tolerance is regarded as intolerance; in that the only thing which cannot be tolerated is intolerance. Therefore 'tolerant' viewpoints must prevail. There is therefore a specific intention inherent in the 5-14 National Guidelines to promote particular belief.

The Curriculum for Excellence (2011) regards Religious and Moral Education similarly as a means of enabling pupils to develop and reflect upon their values and their capacity for moral judgement through an exploration of the major religions and non-religious viewpoints (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1)

> Religious and moral education enables children and young people to explore the world's major religions and views which are independent of religious belief and to consider the challenges posed by these beliefs and values. It supports them in developing and reflecting upon their values and their capacity for moral judgement (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

Pupils must form these values and make moral judgements on the basis of these values in the context of, and due to the 'challenges' in holding such values posed by, diversity in 'beliefs'.

As this is within the context of Religious Education, 'belief', or a view held by an individual to be a true reflection of reality the veracity of which is unsubstantiated, may be inferred to mean religious belief. Pupils are required to develop their own beliefs and will apparently be stimulated to do so by the existence of diverse belief:

> Scotland is a nation whose people hold a wide range of beliefs... Such diversity enriches the Scottish nation and serves as an inspiring and thought-provoking background for our children and young people to develop their own beliefs and values (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

The Curriculum Impact Review (2014) notes an increase in that diversity and equally sees such diversity as an enrichment of society:

> Scotland's children and young people live in a society which is becoming increasingly rich in its religious and cultural diversity (Education Scotland, 2014a, Foreword).

This might be thought to chime with views expressed by such as Gray (2010) that:

> Moral and values education is not a process of indoctrinating moral principles into children, but of opening up talk and reflection on values so as to encourage value awareness. It provides students with opportunities to identify moral issues, to become aware of their own values and those of others, and to analyse their own thinking on morals and values (Gray, 2010, p712);

this notion being developed from the Values Clarification method of moral education which, 'emphasises critical thinking, rational individual choice, and public affirmation' (Leeds, 2010, p798) as a response to a 'plethora of conflicting points of view making it necessary for young people to choose between them' (Leeds, 2010, p798), with the independent analysis of

such views necessary because, ‘young people brought up by moralising adults are not prepared to make their own responsible choices (Simon et al., 1972, p16)’ (Leeds, 2010, p798).

Although Leeds (2010) notes that Values Clarification as a method had a ‘Meteoric rise and equally sudden fall into disfavour’ (Leeds, 2010, p798), in any case the independent analysis of viewpoints and the free arrival at conclusions, which are key components of the method are not evident in the curriculum documents preceding Curriculum for Excellence. Nor does Curriculum for Excellence allow for such an approach.

The Curriculum for Excellence is in fact quite specific about the values which it intends pupils to acquire:

> Through developing awareness and appreciation of the value of each individual in a diverse society, religious and moral education engenders responsible attitudes to other people. This awareness and appreciation will assist in counteracting prejudice and intolerance as children and young people consider issues such as sectarianism and discrimination more broadly (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

The development of ‘Responsible attitudes’ is clearly defined as the development of the value, tolerance. Indeed:

> Learning through religious and moral education enables children and young people to develop respect for others and an understanding of beliefs and practices which are different from their own (The Scottish Government 2011c, p1),

where tolerance is developed to mean a respect for others.

Dealing with a challenge from alternative beliefs and values remains however a means of reinforcing existing values and tolerance of others rather than adoption of alternative views or amalgamation of pre-existing and newly encountered views:

> Exploring and showing our own viewpoints, beliefs and values and having them sometimes challenged by others contributes greatly to our sense of who we are, where we belong and how we see ourselves in relation to others (Education Scotland, 2014a, Foreword).

There is a clear sense of a dominant cultural identity being reinforced, considering 'who we are' in reference to 'others'.

In fact because,

> The principles of Curriculum for Excellence reflect our national commitment to embracing diversity, equality and inclusion so that people of all faiths and those with no faith are respected and able to contribute fully to Scottish life (Education Scotland, 2014a,Foreword),
>
> There is an intrinsic value in learning about religion as well as learning from religion, as children and young people develop their understanding of diversity in our society and their own roles in it (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1);

and developing such values is in fact regarded as a skill:

> The skills of reflection and critical thinking and an enhanced understanding of the beliefs and values of others are all crucial in assisting in this process (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1);

> Religious and Moral Education provides a key context for exploring values and beliefs in this way and therefore plays a central role in preparing young Scots for their future (Education Scotland, 2014a, Foreword);
>
> Religious and Moral Education supports all children and young people to develop their viewpoints, beliefs and moral values through ... learning experiences with a strong focus on higher order thinking skills and space for personal reflection (Education Scotland, 2014a, Foreword).

The study of beliefs and values is central but the skills of reflection and critical thinking are developed to form an understanding of the values of others, not in any way to encourage the acceptance of new beliefs or alternatives, and this is equated with learning about religion.

The Curriculum Impact Review (2014) confirms that the teaching of values is the basis of Religious Education:

> Strengths: Scotland has a strong internationally recognised values based framework for learning and teaching in Religious and Moral Education (Education Scotland, 2014a, p3).

While, pupils are intended to:

> develop the skills of reflection, discernment, critical thinking and deciding how to act when making moral decisions;
>
> develop their beliefs, attitudes, values and practices through reflection, discovery and critical evaluation. (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1),

and,

> Children and young people need more opportunities to develop their own beliefs and values through learning about a range of religious and other beliefs (Education Scotland, 2014a, p4).

Whilst this implies a degree of independence in developing their own beliefs as the result of such evaluation, pupils are nonetheless prescribed values and behaviours:

> explore and establish values such as wisdom, justice, compassion and integrity and engage in the development of and reflection upon their own moral values;
>
> make a positive difference to the world by putting their beliefs and values into action (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

This is developed in *Principles and Practice* (2014b) where the same values of wisdom, justice, compassion and integrity are similarly listed as values to be put into action, but in addition these values are attributed in addition to Christianity to religions other than Christianity:

> The values of compassion, wisdom, justice and integrity that underpin Curriculum for Excellence are also reflected in the shared values of the world's major religions and belief systems (Education Scotland, 2014a, p6),

and learning to implement these values is necessary for the correct functioning of a democratic society:

> Through implementing the Curriculum for Excellence guidance on Religious and Moral Education, local authorities and schools have tremendous opportunities to equip the children and young people of school to live out the values of wisdom,

> compassion, justice and integrity in a modern democratic Scottish society (Education Scotland, 2014a, p8).

In fact, this search for meaning, value and purpose is stated as underlying the entire curriculum for all subjects and represents effective learning itself; values and morality derived from religion:

> Effective learning is therefore often characterised by attention to the values of Curriculum for Excellence and a shared awareness between teachers and pupils that all are engaged in a personal search for meaning, value and purpose in life (Education Scotland, 2014a, p9).

Naturally if the pupils are to 'establish' values, then they are to accept them, and if they are to make a 'positive difference' then clearly there must be consensus as to which values may be regarded as 'positive', especially when teachers are to:

> actively encourage children and young people to participate in service to others (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2), (Education Scotland, 2014b p2),

and the nature of that service requires definition. Even if teachers are to:

> sensitively take account of and value the religious and cultural diversity within their own local communities, using relevant contexts which are familiar to young people (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p2),

and,

> increasingly engage in learning about religions and beliefs relevant to their local community as schools continue to de-clutter the curriculum (Education Scotland, 2014a, p3),

with an emphasis on relevance to a particular community however that may be composed, pupils are still to adopt and put into practice the specific value of service regardless of alternative religious and cultural positions. Pupils will then be assessed on that ability to put their 'own' beliefs into action:

> Assessment. Children and young people can demonstrate their progress through: their awareness of how they can put their own beliefs, values and attitudes into action and show respect for those who hold different beliefs (Education Scotland, 2014b, p4).

This is especially relevant when the criteria for assessment are considered, taking for example the objectives which are to be met, written from the pupil's perspective:

> Through exploring a range of issues of morality, I can consider Christian responses to these issues and relate these to my own developing values. RME 4-02a (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p3);

> I can apply my developing understanding of morality to consider a range of moral dilemmas in order to find ways which could promote a more just and compassionate society. RME 4-02b (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p3);

> I can explain how the values of Christianity contribute to as well as challenge Scottish and other societies. RME 4-02c (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p3);

> I am developing respect for others and my understanding of their beliefs and values. RME 0-07a / 1-07a / RME 2-07a / RME 3-07a / RME 4-07a (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p8);
>
> I am developing an increasing awareness and understanding of my own beliefs and I put them into action in positive ways. RME 1-08a / RME 2-08a / RME 3-08a / RME 4-08a (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p8)

There is a clear consideration of Christian values, relating them to the pupil's own values: the pupil must be able to promote a 'just and compassionate society', the nature of which will be defined from a consideration of the viewpoints presented which are predominantly Christian; the pupil must have 'respect for others' and understand that there are values which are 'other'; and the pupil must apply belief to 'positive' effect, again from the perspective of the values conveyed by the curriculum.

Knowledge of Christian practice is paramount in this:

> I can explain the contribution of Christian beliefs to the development of Scotland, now and in the past. RME 4-01b (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p2)
>
> Through researching a range of Christian traditions, practices and customs, I can explain their significance across a range of Christian Traditions. I can consider the place of these in the contemporary religious life of Scotland. RME 4-03a (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p4)

The distinctiveness of this approach to Religious and Moral Education in Scotland is clear when considering these aims with the statement of The National Forum on Values of School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1996) in England that schools could only, 'aim to

show that there were values held in common' if 'schools could have confidence in referring to those values as ones that were publically shared, and thus they could show that they were *not* engaged in an attempt to inculcate values that belonged only to one sector of a plural society' (Haydon, 2010, p202). As this is not the case, 'no expectation or statement of values should form part of the syllabus of any curriculum subject' (Haydon, 2010, p202).

In this respect Haydon (2010) notes that, '*even* if the teachers of religious education encouraged their students to reflect critically on the religious dimensions of values and wellbeing', 'Within a plural and broadly secular society', 'overall, it would be conveying an inappropriate educational message' (Haydon, 2010, p200). This is clearly not an approach applied in Scotland.

The curriculum documents demonstrate the explicit intention that Religious and Moral Education in Scotland ought to engender particular defined values to underpin particular defined behaviours.

4.8.2b The requirement of Religious Education that pupils articulate the Meaning, Value and Purpose of life

Values education literature considers a link between the adoption of values and increased wellbeing, where those values result from a philosophy of life which addresses 'ultimate' questions, but consistently recognises as objectionable any suggestion of indoctrination in respect of values or underlying philosophy.

> At its best, religious education can have a significant role both in developing (without inculcation, still less indoctrination) students' sense of values and in giving them access to a broader sense of what wellbeing consists of than they might otherwise have access to (Haydon, 2010, p199).

> Some students, even if a minority of the whole student body, do want to engage in reflection on the 'deep questions' of life; for these students, support in such reflection will contribute to their wellbeing – even if they do not come to answers they can count on as definitive (Haydon, 2010, p199).

The curriculum for Religious and Moral Education however consistently insists that all children instinctively consider 'ultimate' questions as a result of their experience of life and that developing a philosophical stance is therefore a necessary component of being a fully developed human being:

> Learning about who we are and how we deal with questions of meaning, values and purpose in life is at the heart of Religious and Moral Education. Children and young people have an enormous appetite for wonder in relation to these issues. On a daily basis learners arrive at school already experiencing all sorts of complexities which impact on their views of life (Education Scotland, 2014a, p6);

> Religious and Moral Education ... can make a unique and valuable contribution to helping children and young people make sense of their experience. The curriculum content of Religious and Moral Education is grounded in that which is integral to human living (Education Scotland, 2014a, p6);

> It provides a range of learning contexts which are significant and relevant to children, young people and adults in every community across Scotland particularly our open multi-faith, multi-racial communities (Education Scotland, 2014a, p6).

Understanding 'who we are' is regarded as 'integral to human living' and to do so requires an understanding of the meaning, value and purpose of life itself, in the abstract.

SCCORE Bulletin 2 develops the notion of engaging with experience such that pupils should develop a very specific understanding of their own experiences and develop values in response to such experiences and moreover a defined sense of purpose in to their life:

> If the emphasis is on the pupil's search...Does the material help pupils to: become aware of the aspects of their own experience which figure significantly in their personal search for meaning, value and purpose? examine issues in relation to the questions which probe the meaning, value and purpose of life? explain the different aspects of their own search from their own point of view? apply their point of view to specific situations? (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii, 2).

Experience of life leads to questioning of the meaning, value and purpose of life. In forming their own views in respect of this, pupils should evaluate the worth of the views of others and in so doing develop tolerance of the views of others, whilst coming to an explicit view of the worth of their own lives:

> Where material is specifically designed to show the relationship between religions or other stances for living and the pupil's search...Does the material help pupils to: evaluate specific phenomena, broad groups of phenomena or whole traditions ...from (a) their own point of view, (b) the points of view of investigators from various disciplines? formulate and express clearly a personal view on the meaning, value and purpose of life...make informed and sensitive judgements? develop tolerance of views which are alien to their own experience and convictions? (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, pviii, 2).

In the stated rationale for the subject SCCORE notes that the subject is concerned with, 'the development of the understanding of religion as a significant area of human experience',

which as such is concerned with ‘feeling and empathetic insight’ that will correspondingly elicit a response on the part of the learner (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.1, 1.2):

> Rationale for Religious Education...Religious education is concerned with the development of the understanding of religion as a significant area of human experience (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.1).
>
> ‘Understanding’ is used in a wide sense, being concerned with feeling and empathetic insight as well as an intellectual grasp of certain information. It will issue in some response on the part of the learner (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.2).

Pupils are expected to identify with religious belief and utilise what they learn about the questions raised by religion to assist them in their own consideration of what it means to be human in order to find meaning, value and purpose for themselves. Pupils must be able to empathise with religion, and since the word is ‘empathise’ which means to understand the significance of an experience as a result of having that experience personally, then pupils are to understand the perspectives of religion due to personal experience of religion through the practice of religion as a religious person. Religion is the expression of this search for meaning, value and purpose and the context within which experience is understood:

> Religious education should therefore always be concerned to relate the major insights of religion to the pupil’s own search for meaning, value and purpose in life. The pupil is not simply learning about religion, he is learning from it...Religious education draws upon a long tradition of enquiry into...man’s search for meaning and purpose in life and pupils may be expected at least to take account of this tradition and of the central questions with

> which it is concerned, when making their own appraisal of the human condition. (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.3).

Indeed, even although:

> Religious education cannot proceed on the assumption that all pupils will, or should, have positive religious convictions or commitments (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.4),

nonetheless:

> Schools should, however, foster the search for meaning, value and purpose... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.4).

Even if pupils are not religious, they will be required to study religion in order to reach conclusions on the meaning, value and purpose of life based on the assumptions of religions, the questions raised by religions and the conclusions reached by religions. Religious and Moral Education seeks to deepen the pupil's understanding of personal identity by raising the pupil's awareness of the apparent need for a personal search for meaning, value and purpose, and by facilitating that search. This is intended to enable the pupil to grow and develop freely in a world of differing beliefs and values, reaching their own conclusions but conclusions based crucially on an evaluation of the religious material placed before them:

> Religious education in schools is concerned with understanding the experience of man in his search for meaning, value and purpose in life. The religions of the world are the classic expressions of this search and, for many people, provide the context of meaning, value and purpose within which experience is to be understood. Through his understanding of this search, the pupil is helped towards a deeper awareness of his

> identity enabling him to grow and develop freely in a world of divergent beliefs and values (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p1, 1.5).

Religious Education exists in the view of SCCORE to present pupils with the notion that humankind engages in an intellectual exercise which seeks to articulate a general meaning of life and an abstract value and collective purpose which is evident in religious thinking expressed through the predominant religions of the world, and to require pupils to attribute a specific meaning, value and purpose to themselves:

> Three areas of concern in religious education have been identified: (a) man's search for meaning, value and purpose in life (b) the religions of the world as expressions of this search (c) the pupil's search for meaning, value and purpose in life (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p2, 2.1).

> A major concern of religious education is to assist the pupil's own search and all that is taught in religious education should contribute towards this (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p2, 2.3).

> The great religions...Without assuming the correctness of their answers, or giving them an authority greater than they are able to command for themselves, they provide a core of subject matter for religious education. There should also be some study of other stances for living which are seriously engaged in the same search (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p2, 2.2).

The 5-14 National Guidelines likewise consider the study of the dominant religious traditions as they are the source of answers to 'intuitively' asked religious questions:

> Questions and interpretations arising from personal experience...may be related to the classic expressions of belief and practice in the great religions of the world, bringing the two sides of religious education, the objective and subjective together (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1),

Specifically,

> The aims of Religious and Moral Education are to help pupils to: Develop a knowledge and understanding of Christianity and other world religions and to recognise religion as an important expression of human experience (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p2).

Pupils are encouraged to relate a consideration of the nature of human experience as interpreted in religious terms to themselves. They will undertake a study of particular elements of Christianity and Other World Religions:

> They are: Celebrations, festivals, ceremonies and customs; Sacred writings, stories and key figures; Beliefs; Sacred places, worship and symbols; Moral values and attitudes (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p5).

Pupils are therefore to relate the activities of believers to the specific beliefs to understand the link between belief and action. The Personal Search will, within this context, focus on:

> The natural world; Relationships and moral values; Ultimate questions (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p6).

However, a focus on creation stories and the mystery and purpose of existence which have a different function to scientific explanations means that ultimate questions may be answered

only by statements of belief – in line with the approach outlined in SCCORE Bulletin 2 - even where pupils explore their own questions.

In this respect the stated aims of Religious and Moral Education - by which is meant 'a broad statement of intent by which the curriculum is guided' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p3, 3.1) – 'are seen to be':

> (a) to help pupils to identify the area of religion in terms of the phenomena of religion and the human experiences from which they arise (b) to enable pupils to explore the nature and meaning of existence in relation to the questions religions pose and the answers they propose (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p3, 3.2).

Pupils in other words study the human experiences which give rise to religion, and the questions of religion regarding nature and meaning of existence and the answer of religion in order:

> (c) to encourage pupils to develop a consistent set of beliefs, attitudes and practices which are the result of a personal process of growth, search and discovery (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p3, 3.2).

Pupils are to be engaged in the development of beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. Furthermore:

> (c) the emphasis is placed upon the pupil's response. Education has a concern with the beliefs, commitments and attitudes which pupils adopt. Religious education should help the pupil to become aware of his own commitments, and to test them in the light of reason and experience and the evidence of the great traditions (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p3, 3.3).

The intent, very clearly, is not simply the consideration of beliefs and practices or even the evaluation of these, but a study of religions which will develop the pupil's own beliefs. This takes place within the context of an education system that, 'has a concern with the beliefs, commitments and attitudes which pupils adopt' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p3, 3.3). Education is not vocational, or skills-based, but related to citizenship and wider philosophical education.

Within the content of the curriculum:

> The study of Christianity and of the other religions and stances for living selected would be undertaken with several ends in view. (a) To communicate an understanding of the religion or stance for living itself (b) To open up an avenue into the understanding of other religions or stances for living. (c) To provide tools and a framework for the study and understanding of religious phenomena of whatever kind. (d) To assist pupils in pursuing their own search for understanding and commitment in an informed and sensitive way (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p15, 5.8)

In other words, the study of points (a), (b) and (c) is undertaking specifically to inform (d), to create the framework for belief and the development of a philosophical stance for living.

Correspondingly, the objectives for the curriculum – 'the term 'objective' is used to mean a precise statement of intent referring directly to pupil activity' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p4, 4.1) – are expressed as an interrelationship between a study of religions, including other stances for living, and the search for meaning, value and purpose:

> the general search for meaning, value and purpose in life, particularly its expression in the historic religions, and the pupil's own search, can be best safeguarded by recognising two interrelated sets of objectives: those related to religions and other

> stances for living, those related to the pupil's search for meaning, value and purpose in life (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p4, 4.2).

The objectives are categorised:

> A threefold classification of these objectives is proposed: (a) Knowledge (b) Understanding (c) Evaluation... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p4, 4.3);
>
> (a) Knowledge involves awareness of the aspects of his own experience relevant to his personal search for meaning, value and purpose (cf. paragraphs 4.9-4.13) (b) Understanding involves the perception of relationships: among the beliefs, feelings and actions involved in any specific experience between these and general principles of thought, feeling and action between general principles and the pattern of meaning, value and purpose which makes them intelligible and significant for the pupil (cf. paragraph 4.15) (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p5);
>
> Evaluation emerges from understanding and involves formulating and expressing a personal view on the meaning, value and purpose of life and evaluating this view in the light of relevant factors. (cf. paragraph 4.18) (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p5),

the significance being that knowledge of the beliefs and practices of religions and an understanding of how beliefs relate to practices are to be gained with a view to evaluating their significance for the pupil in their own search for meaning:

> Evaluation from the pupil's point of view should be based on the knowledge and understanding he has gained of the tradition, and should be from the point of view of

> its personal significance or relevance to him in his search for meaning, value and purpose in life (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p12, 4.17).
>
> (c) Evaluation emerges from understanding and entails informed and sensitive judgement from a particular point of view. ...At the highest level [of knowledge and understanding] evaluation will express a personal view as to the nature and significance of religion in human life. (cf. paragraph 4.17) (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p4, 4.4)

Specifically, the pupil will determine the relevance of religious beliefs by evaluating:

> the truth claims made by the tradition...the values advocated by the tradition...the tradition's applicability to problems of contemporary importance or interest (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p12, 4.17);
>
> a) Evaluation from the pupil's point of view should be based on the knowledge and understanding he has gained of the tradition, and should be from the point of view of its personal significance or relevance to him in his search for meaning, value and purpose in life. (b) Evaluation from other points of view should be based also on knowledge and understanding of the other points of view... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p12, 4.17).

There is no sense of detached and objective study of religion from which personal insight might incidentally be drawn; rather there is a determined process of testing religion to help form personal belief. The knowledge and understanding to be gained of religion is that of the meaning, value and purpose derived by believers from the religion with the intent that pupils can use this in establishing their own meaning, value and purpose, through the critique of the pupil and the critique of others.

> 4.4, Religions and other stances for living (cf. paragraphs 4.5-4.8) (a) Knowledge involves awareness of the phenomena of religions (b) Understanding involves the perception of relationships: among the phenomena between the phenomena and the appropriate concepts, feelings and actions of the believers between the phenomena and the pattern of meaning, value and purpose which makes them intelligible and significant for the believer. (cf. paragraph 4.14) (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p4, 4.4),

It is for this reason that:

> it is important in the long run to develop the pupil's systematic understanding of religions and religion... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p7, 4.8),

and that therefore the knowledge of religion to be gained to result in such understanding - 'what should be known and understood by the pupils before they can be said to have an adequate understanding of a religion on which to base any informed judgement of it' (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p7, 4.7) - is specifically:

> Knowledge of the origins and originators...the literature of the religion...the central beliefs...the community of believers, eg forms of association, expressions of community life, the major ethical demands, characteristic practices, social and individual feelings, affections and attitudes characteristic of the community key terms in the vocabulary of the religion (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p6, 4.5)

> At a different level, other objectives may figure importantly:...the range of answers given to central religious questions(Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p6, 4.6).

Moreover, the pupil must form a belief which will itself be evaluated as part of the assessment of the subject. It must be tested against the material studied and be a proven solution to the pupil's search:

> The pupil should be able to...evaluate his view in the light of experience, evidence, tradition, reason and informed conscience. Among the matters to be evaluated with regard to the pupil's personal view will be: its ability to make sense of experience...its ability to provide a personally satisfying solution to the search for meaning, value and purpose in life. (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p13, 4.18).

The pupil must be able to relate personal experience to thought systems, understanding of the self and the context of the self.

> to understand the different aspects of his own search for meaning, value and purpose...to give his reasons for regarding them as he does...Growth in understanding will be shown by...increasing awareness of the ways in which different aspects (beliefs, feelings and actions) of any specific experience are related to each other...to see the relationship between these aspects and general principles of thought, feeling and action, ie. Concepts, attitudes and patterns of behaviour...to recognise how these general principles are related to his basic convictions about the meaning, value and purpose of life (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p11)

Naturally enough the curriculum provides the pupils with knowledge of which of their experiences give rise to questions relating to the meaning, value and purpose of life, and details what those questions ought to be:

> The first task is to promote self awareness...making the pupil aware of the aspects of his experience of which he is usually unaware because they are not usually the focus of

> attention. As soon as the experience is recognised by the pupil as having some connection with his search for meaning, value and purpose, he has started on the road to understanding it (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p9, 4.10).

> Relevant aspects of pupils' experience would include beliefs, feelings and actions related to: Issues of personal identity...Issues of personal relationships...Issues of social relationships...Questions of morality...Questions of meaning and purpose: Questions arising from one's own existence: e.g. Where did I come from? Why am I not always true to my conscience? Where am I going?...Questions arising from the natural world: ...e.g. Why are there natural disasters? Questions arising from moral decisions: e.g. Why behave in a particular way? What does this imply about man? (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p8, 4.9).

The purpose is to guide the pupil very carefully through a determined set of questions, evaluating the answers provided from a determined selection of information about the beliefs held in particular religions, to determine a final answer from the pupil; a controlled, constructivist, process that will provide a commonly accepted viewpoint. The concern is not vocational, nor with the ability to function in society in a practical sense with an understanding of diversity, nor with citizenship values but instead with personal spiritual development.

> The general search for meaning, value and purpose can helpfully be studied in terms of the following elements: (a) the human experiences which give rise to the search (b) the questions which guide the search (c) the process of seeking answers to these questions (d) the answers reached (e) the personal and social implications (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p15, 5.4).

> Education will obviously be failing if it does not make a significant contribution to the pupil's own resolution of the adolescent identity crisis which is simply a concentrated and urgent concern with the search for personal meaning, value and purpose in life. The most important outcome will be the pupil's response as a person in terms of attitude, action and commitment... (Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, 1981, p14, 4.22).

Although the 5-15 National Guidelines note additionally that religious education involves the development of what are termed 'general skills' which may likewise be the focus of other subjects, such as 'reading' with 'interpretation of religious symbolism' highlighted as specific to the subject, the guidelines stress a focus similar to that of SCCORE Bulletin 2 on the particular skills of 'investigating and evaluating', which the National Guidelines regard as being skills integral to the practice of religion:

> As well as knowledge and understanding, the outcomes cover skills and attitudes. The skills involved in religious education are mainly general learning skills such as reading for information, listening to others and discussing with them. But there are also some skills which arguably are specific to religion, such as the interpretation of religious symbolism...In general, it may be helpful to focus on the skills of investigating and evaluating... *Evaluating* here means the formation and expression of informed opinion on religious and moral issues, backed by reasoned argument. It does not mean passing final judgement on major religious traditions (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p6).

There is a focus on learning about religion in order to evaluate it, although stating that making a value judgement does 'not mean passing final judgement'. It is difficult to though to conceive of what an 'informed opinion' might be if not a value judgement.

Indeed, pupils are led to the beliefs and attitudes they must hold, and this is such a focus that teachers must overcome the obvious difficulties of assessing progress in the development of 'attitude', which would have to be seen to be applied in order to be assessed:

> Attitudes are less amenable to targeting and assessment. Nevertheless, it is important to try to develop attitudes of open inquiry and interest in religious and moral matters, as well as tolerance and respect for others and responsibility for oneself (Scottish Office Education Department, 1992, p1).

The subject is religious education so where pupils must be found to value inquiry, this means inquiry into religious matters, and where they must be found to value interest in moral matter this means religious morality. They must equally be found to value religion itself, and to value tolerance and respect and indeed become responsible themselves for making sure they form beliefs per se.

Within the Curriculum for Excellence (2011), exploration, development and establishment of such values and beliefs takes place through an exercise in critical thinking within the context of a study of religion, particularly of Christianity:

> Learning through religious and moral education enables children and young people to:
>
> • recognise religion as an important expression of human experience
>
> • learn about and from the beliefs, values, practices and traditions of Christianity and the world religions selected for study, other traditions, and viewpoints independent of religious belief
>
> • explore and develop knowledge and understanding of religions, recognising the place of Christianity in the Scottish context

- investigate and understand the responses which religious and non-religious views can offer to questions about the nature and meaning of life

(The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

The role of religion and of a religious contextualisation of human experience is emphasised, whilst the importance of Christianity within the Scottish context is emphasised:

> How does Religious and Moral Education provide children and young people with insight and experiences of Scotland's cultural heritage and identity? The experience and outcomes draw on the rich and diverse context of Scotland's cultural heritage through the use of Scottish stories, images, music and poems (Education Scotland, 2014b, p5).

The place of religion and of religious diversity within society is then emphasised. Pupils are to:

- recognise and understand religious diversity and the importance of religion in society

- develop respect for others and an understanding of beliefs and practices which are different from their own (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

Pupils are being taught to establish religious values and beliefs within the context of a changing society and to be able to defend their viewpoint against what are clearly regarded as external influences: pupils are to understand and tolerate 'others' where 'others' are not other individuals but are other groups. Pupils are as a group establishing values rooted in Christianity and defending them against the views of other groups.

> Scottish society is rich in both religious and cultural heritage and diversity. Media headlines on a weekly basis confirm this and recent debates around for example marriage, sectarianism and capitalism emphasise it further (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7).

In fact:

> The experiences and outcomes are structured within three organisers to enable teachers to plan learning about and through Christianity and those other world religions which are selected for study, and to plan for the development of beliefs and values (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1).

Pupils are learning ‘about’ but importantly also ‘through’ Christianity, for the ‘development’ of beliefs and values, from a communitarian perspective where individual identity is formed by relation to the values of society as a whole:

> To contribute fully to the communities in which they live young people must understand this diversity and to truly understand diversity, one must first and foremost understand individuals. Central to that is the need to understand oneself deeply and fully as a unique and valuable individual who is joined to individuals (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7).

This is in fact intended as an ongoing, ‘lifelong learning’ process, to:

> establish a firm foundation for lifelong learning, further learning and adult life (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p1);

> This curriculum area has two overarching aims, the recognition of which is at the heart of Curriculum for Excellence and Getting it Right for every Child, two key

> policy drivers for improvement for the futures of Scotland's children and young people: a) To ensure that children and young people can individually and collectively develop the personal beliefs and values, resilient attitudes and life skills to supports them through the complexities of human existence and co-existence, b) To ensure all children and young people achieve well and that their learning and achievement impacts positively on their individual life chances (Education Scotland, 2014a, p6).

Within the religious contextualisation of human experience, it is significant that despite the development of respect for others, personal beliefs and values are to be developed collectively. A dominant value system is clearly being transmitted.

In contrast to the Scottish approach, in values education literature the necessity of a process of values evaluation is evident, even where that is divorced from a study of religion:

> Even if religious education was no longer to be a vehicle for the transmission of a received set of values, however it could nevertheless provide an opportunity for students to reflect on their values and their underlying beliefs about the world and attitudes towards life. Such reflection could be aided by an understanding of ways in which the values and beliefs of others were similar or different (Haydon, 2010, p199)

Such evaluation of personal values, and consideration of the values of others as a means of informing personal evaluation, is not the approach of Curriculum for Excellence. The emphasis is rather on the formation of collective values within a social context informed by religion.

Religion and society are not regarded as separate spheres and indeed a religious position is the perspective from which conflicts within society can be understood and by which collective decisions can be reached. It is a matter of 'responsible citizenship':

> They...recognise how the spiritual and cultural aspects of society develop and change as a result of the changing belief landscape. They see religion and belief as organic and relevant to all aspects of life past and present (Education Scotland, 2014d, p8);
>
> Through effective Religious and Moral Education, Scotland's children and young people can engage with those important debates and to understand the tensions which sometimes arise between individual, family and community viewpoints (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7);
>
> Since religious diversity is a fact of life in Scotland and across the world, responsible citizenship demands an understanding of where we stand in relation to religious beliefs and practices. The questions which religion attempts to answer and the claims of truth which religions make are therefore meaningful ones to address within the classroom (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7).

Significantly, a stance in relation to religious beliefs and practices does not mean unconditional tolerance of the beliefs and values of others. In the first place, through evaluation, a stance is adopted:

> Children and young people develop the skills of reflection, analysis and evaluation which support them in making well informed judgements about their own stories in life (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7).

Pupils are then to recognise that it is right to defend that stance when an evaluation of another stance reveals deficiencies in the alternative:

> Religion and Moral Education helps young people to understand when it is good and right to compare one's beliefs and values and when it is good and right to stand firm against attempts to force compromise (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7).

Finally, the beliefs and values of others that have been considered in these comparative terms are challenged where necessary:

> If we develop a culture which teaches only a broad respect and tolerance of others we can also create a culture which too often remains silent for fear of offending others. The Scottish model of Religious and Moral Education is built on the premise that to respect the beliefs and values of others if we do so only from a position of distance, is not good enough (Education Scotland, 2014a, p7)

Accordingly, the experiences and outcomes of Religious and Moral Education within the Curriculum for Excellence are expressed specifically in relation to the personal search for meaning, value and purpose, with the religious content of the curriculum present solely to facilitate that search:

> The processes associated with the idea of 'personal search' remain a key component of teaching and learning in religious and moral education: children and young people must learn from religious beliefs as well as learning about them. The context of study should encourage the development of a child or young person's own beliefs and values in addition to developing his or her knowledge and understanding of values, practices and traditions. This can be achieved through consideration of, reflection upon and response to the challenges presented by religious beliefs and values, and those which flow from viewpoints independent of religious belief (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p3);

> The development of a child or young person's own beliefs and values is therefore embedded in the framework (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p3).

This approach is reinforced in the 2014 Curriculum for Excellence, Religious and Moral Education, Principles and Practice, documentation (2014b) to the extent that the search for meaning, value and purpose should 'permeate' the curriculum:

> How can the experiences and outcomes support children in the development of their own beliefs and values? The processes associated with the idea of 'personal search' remain a key component of teaching and learning in Religious and Moral Education (Education Scotland, 2014b p3);

> A child or young person should be exploring his or her developing beliefs and values throughout the process of learning in Religious and Moral Education. This exploration should permeate learning and teaching (Education Scotland, 2014b, p3).

Curriculum for Excellence does acknowledge the possibility that the search for meaning, value and purpose may not result in all pupils adopting a religious standpoint, in part due to study of non-religious philosophies of life:

> activities relevant to and supportive of this will take place in the context of exploring religions and viewpoints which are independent of religious belief. Teachers will recognise that in this process of personal reflection not all children will adopt a religious standpoint (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p3).

However, the use of the phrase, 'not all', suggests, 'most will', and the fact that the guidelines go on to state that 'knowledge and understanding' are not the exclusive components of the formation of beliefs, but the pupil's ability to 'sense' and 'feel' has equal

validity in what is after all an assessable objective of learning, highlights the religious nature of ‘belief’ and the formation of such belief as the essential purpose of the subject:

> [The] Framework for Religious and Moral Education in Scotland promotes strong emotional, social and spiritual wellbeing...this is achieved through the significant focus on the development of personal beliefs and moral values (Education Scotland, 2014a, p6);

> A child or young person should be exploring his or her developing beliefs and values throughout the process of learning in religious and moral education. This exploration should permeate learning and teaching, and should take full account of the background, age and stage of the child or young person. Knowledge and understanding are an essential element of this personal reflection and exploration but they are not its only components. A learner may feel and express a sense of awe and wonder, may recognise patterns and order in the world, may vigorously question sources, may be reflecting on relationships and values, and may have begun to consider ultimate questions relating to meaning, value and purpose in life. The process of learning must recognise this and start from where the child or young person is (The Scottish Government, 2011c, p3);

> Knowledge and understanding are an essential element of this personal reflection and exploration but they are not its only components. A learner may feel and express a sense of awe and wonder, may recognise patterns and order in the world...and may have begun to consider ultimate questions relating to meaning, value and purpose in life (Education Scotland, 2014b, p3);

> experiencing a sense of awe and wonder about what it means to be human, the nature of the world we live in, the interconnectedness of it all and developing a deepening sense of spiritual awareness (Education Scotland, 2014d, p5).

The expression of feelings of 'awe and wonder', the reflection on' relationships and values' and the consideration of 'ultimate questions', all in relation to the search for meaning, purpose and value in life, demonstrate the religious nature of the beliefs and values to be formed and held.

> The development of a child or young person's own beliefs and values is therefore embedded in the framework (Education Scotland, 2014b, p3).

The purpose of acquiring knowledge and understanding of religion is for the pupil to develop beliefs and values themselves.

Consequently, the curriculum is constructed specifically such that:

> Religious and Moral Education is a process where children and young people engage in a search for meaning, value and purpose in life. This involves both the exploration of beliefs and values and the study of how such beliefs and values are expressed (Education Scotland, 2014c, p5).

Furthermore, expressed in curriculum terms, 'learning from religion, beliefs and morality' is equated with a process of personal reflection:

> engaging in a process of personal reflection leading to a deeper understanding of personal beliefs and ideas about meaning, value and purpose in life (Education Scotland, 2014d, p5).

Moreover, pupil progression includes,

> Recognising religion and belief as significant factors which have shaped our social, political and spiritual heritage. (Education Scotland, 2014d, p8).

Understanding the meaning, value and purpose of life involves understanding also the religious basis of society and the need to establish a personal meaning, value and purpose of life which incorporates an understanding of the individual's place within that society, rather than one independent of it

Pupils are then assessed on the informed quality of their position on beliefs and morality:

> Skills in making informed, mature responses to issues of belief and morality (Education Scotland, 2014c, p5).

Pupils are required to have a working knowledge of Christianity in particular to understand the challenges to Christianity specifically and to articulate a position of their own from the perspective of Christianity:

> Having considered key Christian beliefs, I can express reasoned views on these and discuss how putting them into practice might affect individuals and society. I can confidently support my own responses to these issues of belief. RME 4-01a (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p2)

> I am able to reflect upon my own responses to the challenges and opportunities presented by religious and cultural diversity and extend this reflection from the Scottish to the global context. RME 4-03b (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p4)

The adopted position is not a response to moral issues assessed in isolation from an understanding of a Christian perspective. Rather it is a position arrived at through direct engagement with Christianity in particular.

> Development of beliefs and values These experiences and outcomes should be addressed through the context of the experiences and outcomes for Christianity and world religions selected for study. They should not be seen as a separate area to plan for but should be intertwined with the experiences and outcomes for Christianity and the world religions selected for study. They should also enable consideration of a range of spiritual traditions and viewpoints which are independent of religious belief (The Scottish Government, 2011d, p8).

The Curriculum for Excellence (2011) aims to transmit the cultural tradition and heritage as was recommended in the Millar Report, SCCORE Bulletins 1 and 2, and the 5-14 National Guidelines. The difference is that while seeking to mirror the evaluative process recommended in these documents which would nonetheless confirm pupils in a shared set of values, the Curriculum for Excellence (2011) is very explicit as to what these values are, so the process of evaluation is more of a confirmation of those values which ought to determine the individual's sense of meaning, value and purpose.

4.9 Summary

The personal search for meaning, value and purpose in life emerges in the curriculum documents as an explicit articulation of the educational value of Religious and Moral Education and as such this represents a change, if not in the conception of the purpose and aims of the subject, then in their expression and in the means of achieving them. Religion was from the beginning of the period under consideration to be viewed as a specific area of

knowledge from which moral values could be formed, and Religious Education was seen to be distinctive as a subject because of its religious nature and not initially because of the skills which it taught. The subject then became one intended to assist human growth by developing capacities for evaluation and the ability to reach personal conclusions in respect of matters relevant to human experience, rather than one concerned simply with the direct transmission of the cultural and religious heritage of Christianity. From a position where non-specialists delivered Religious and Moral Education and conducted Religious Observance by utilising their own general knowledge, rooted in the Christian values of their period, the decline in Christian observance and associated general knowledge necessitated that the subject develop the manner by which it sought to form values, although as the values being formed were themselves regarded as synonymous with the values of Scottish society, Religious Education as a subject was continuing in its role of confirming values.

This also took place within a framework of knowledge of primarily Christian beliefs and responses. Knowledge of the beliefs and responses of other monotheistic religions and non-religious viewpoints became part of that framework but received conspicuously less attention and indeed they were compared primarily to Christianity rather than to each other. Arguably, the purpose of the subject to transmit the cultural and religious heritage of Christianity remains but the subject aims to foster an understanding of Christianity through a new method, that of critical engagement with it.

With the distinction of the addition of religions other than Christianity and non-religious viewpoints, the search for meaning, value and purpose, is not a markedly different position to that taken by the Millar Report which recommends that knowledge of Christian beliefs and practices be transmitted in such a way that the evaluation of Christian beliefs and responses is possible, especially in the light of fresh thinking by Christian theologians. This search for

‘truth’ recommended in the Millar Report is conceptually identical to the search for ‘belief’ as presented in the search for personal meaning, value and purpose: belief as personal truth. What makes it conceptually identical is that the knowledge and understanding of religions and non-religious viewpoints with which pupils are provided is, naturally, controlled by the curriculum of the particular period: the personal search is given boundaries and then a particular method of evaluation is prescribed; as such, the scope for significantly divergent conclusions to emerge is severely limited at every stage in the development of the curriculum over the period in question.

The personal search for meaning, value and purpose is therefore a distinct feature of the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education. The purpose is to convey cultural traditions and heritage, specifically Christian in origin, to identify pupils with a community culture, and the aim is to do so by developing critical capacities which will enable pupils to engage with that heritage in the light of other influences.

The subject has a position of importance within the curriculum that justifies a view that it is intended to promote national distinctiveness. This is particularly the case in terms of the link between the personal search for meaning, value and purpose and the capacities of the Curriculum for Excellence, especially those of creating ‘responsible citizens’ and ‘effective contributors’ which are distinctive aims of the Curriculum for Excellence (The Scottish Government, 2011d) in that they relate to fostering the idea of ‘service’ to the community, and a notion of ‘tolerance’ by the responsible citizen which refers, uniquely, to an awareness and understanding of diverse belief but specifically not to the acceptance of the validity of such diverse belief, and particularly not in preference to the acceptance of Christian beliefs and practices. In this case a belief in the tolerance of others and the practice of service to the community, in which the search for meaning, value and purpose is intended to result, have a

definition as specific to the Scottish curriculum as the approach of a search for meaning, value and purpose is as a method for conducting Religious Education.

Conclusion

The curriculum for Religious and Moral Education has developed over the period in question according to a distinct conception of the purpose of education and a distinct conception of the purpose of the subject within the education system. Education in Scotland is concerned with human growth and development which involves the acquisition of personal emotional capacities alongside practical skills and a community-based value system. Religious and Moral Education is concerned with the spiritual dimension of that development and with the development of community-orientated values. Both are concerned with the transmission of the cultural heritage and development of the critical skills necessary for successful growth. Religious and Moral Education correspondingly aims to transmit the Christian heritage and to teach the skills necessary to engage with issues of relevance in such a way as to explicitly develop belief in which pupils find meaning, value and purpose in life and can relate to the community in which they live.

In this respect, in applying the adopted method of historical document analysis, it was possible to code the content of the documents according to their capacity to answer the research questions, but it was also necessary to examine the documents in isolation from the research questions in order to create memos relating to idiosyncrasies. In this way the research could address observations contained within the admittedly scant literature as it touched on the distinctive aspects of the curriculum which the research identified as a significant aspect of the analysis. This also provided the themes under which the analysis of the documents was presented.

It became clear that the documents were revealing aspects of a Religious Education curriculum which were distinct from the conception of the nature and purpose of Religious Education existing in the UK outside the Scottish context and from the debates associated

with that wider context. It became clear that the significance of the nature and purpose of Religious Education revealed in the curriculum documents to the debate concerning the position of the subject in Scottish schools and within the Curriculum for Excellence, lay in the fact of their distinctiveness, indicating the need to present the documentary analysis thematically to adequately demonstrate this.

Throughout the period, what cultural heritage and traditions does the subject seek to transmit or transform?

The curriculum documents for Religious and Moral Education all make mention of the changing nature of Scottish society in respect to religious observance and all recognise the changing role of Christianity within Scottish society in respect of association with Christianity and Christian practices. The documents nonetheless make Christianity the focus of the curriculum for Religious and Moral education for the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of religion as a concept, where religious knowledge is recognised as a specific sphere of knowledge. Christianity is even more the focus of study aimed at providing the pupil with a personal view of the meaning, value and purpose of life, and of study aimed at ensuring adherence to particular moral behaviours.

The purpose of the personal search for meaning, value and purpose is to convey primarily Christian cultural traditions and heritage. The intention is to facilitate pupils in identifying themselves with a common culture. This is to be achieved by a process of critical engagement with the Christian heritage and with influences both religious and non-religious that present challenges to that common culture. An awareness and understanding of diverse belief is ultimately considered necessary by the time of the Curriculum for Excellence, but not with a view to accepting the validity of any such divergent beliefs, especially in preference to Christian values.

The traditions and heritage of Protestant Christianity are further emphasised in the nature of Religious Observance. The role of Religious Education over the period is to provide pupils with a religious understanding of specifically Christian worship and to utilise compulsory participation in such worship to develop an understanding of Christianity in the pupils.

This is also the case in Moral Education where over the period critical engagement with morality and moral values from a Christian tradition is what is expected of pupils.

This treats Christianity as far more than a religion with an historic legacy and an historic influence upon the culture and traditions, the laws and moral codes, of Scottish society. Rather, it treats Christianity as an active and dominant element in the development of contemporary culture and values. The curriculum for Religious and Moral Education has taken this position over the entirety of the period under examination. It is therefore safe to conclude that the intention has remained consistently to transmit cultural traditions and heritage rather than to transform them or to resist cultural change.

What knowledge, understanding and values are being taught in the particular cultural context?

The specific knowledge to be derived from the study of each religion are those central beliefs which will allow an understanding of the practices of the religion and the response which members of the religion have to particular situations and experiences. At the beginning of the period under consideration in 1972 this relates essentially to Christianity, and from the publication of SCCORE Bulletin 1 in 1978, other religions are included. Pupils were to develop an understanding of religion in relation to the elements common to all religions, those being, transcendence, communication, relationships, response and meaning. SCCORE Bulletin 1 and SCCORE Bulletin 2 (1981) emphasised that pupils would gain knowledge and understanding of religion as a unique area of knowledge related to the understanding of

human experience and the justification of moral values. This was the body of knowledge to be taught and practiced, which was the educational justification of the subject. Christian morality was taught and Christian worship was taught. The 5-14 National Guidelines (1992) wished pupils to understand religion to be the impulse behind behaviour and social organisation. The Curriculum for Excellence regarded the recognition of differences in beliefs and values as a skill. The emphasis however, was on evaluating the claims and responses of religion in the search for personal meaning, value and purpose. In every document the purpose of acquiring knowledge and understanding relating to specific religions was to assist in that process. This philosophical approach is a distinctive element in Scottish Religious Education.

A specific feature of Religious and Moral Education is that the subject is intended to develop moral values through consideration of moral issues and personal relationships as part of the responsibility to build character and form personality. In the Millar Report moral issues are seen to be discussed within a Christian framework, with the specific Christian value to be gained, that of 'care' (1972, p65, 2). In SCCORE Bulletin 1, the provision of a framework for moral evaluation forms part of the educational justification of the subject, while in Bulletin 2 the purpose of the personal search for meaning, value, and purpose is precisely that pupils should develop values which would be considered moral, including that of tolerance for the views of others. This is echoed in the 5-14 National Guidelines and extended to include values derived from Christianity: honesty, liberty, justice, fairness and concern for others, noted as the, 'Christian Ethic' (1992, p2). The Curriculum for Excellence aims to support the development of values and the capacity for moral judgement, with a particular emphasis on responsible behaviour, meaning tolerance of those of a different opinion rather than of diversity as a value in itself. Christian values such as wisdom, justice, compassion, integrity, and service to others (2011, p1) are prevalent and their specific derivation is clear.

Religious Observance is recognised in all the documents as a compulsory aspect of schooling but one which should be justified on educational grounds. There is a strong view that only through participation in religious activity is it possible to empathise with those who hold religious beliefs and to understand the actions to which those beliefs give rise: in this case to prayer and worship. SCCORE Bulletin 1 seeks to divorce Religious Observance from Religious Education, but only in the sense of removing it from the classroom. The 5-14 National Guidelines stress that pupils should take part in worship, not simply to develop empathetic understanding, but with the specific purpose of developing spirituality. The Curriculum for Excellence regards spiritual development as a skill the acquisition of which is central to success in the four capacities of the curriculum. Through Religious Observance a pupil will become, a successful learner, a confident individual, a responsible citizen, and an effective contributor (2011e, p2.8).

To what extent is there a continuum; in what ways has the nature and purpose of the subject remained the same?

There is no evidence of the curriculum following changes in society and adapting to such change. The documents recognise in fact that the changes in society are not such that the values and traditions of Christianity are challenged. Observance of Christian practices and association with Christianity, such as church attendance, are noted as having declined, but the persistent, underlying Christian nature of Scottish society is stated. This is to disagree with Casanova (2009, p1057) that religious characteristics are at odds with the values of the public democratic sphere. This is not the case in Scotland.

Each of the curriculum documents considered in this study has however noted to some extent that changes in society would necessitate that changes be made within the curriculum for Religious and Moral Education, acknowledging that Religious Education is a subject which

engages with the values and practices of society. Religious Education is never seen as an objective study of religion and religions which is unrelated or incidental to the beliefs and practices of the pupils or to society at large. Each has though, considered there to be a contemporary challenge to the authority of Christianity, but not such that changes the importance of Christian values to society. Secularisation, where it is considered in the curriculum documents is considered as a process in society where there is a move from observance to non-observance, not a move from belief to the rejection of belief.

In the case of the Millar Report (1972), in addition to increasing secularisation and resistance amongst teachers to a confessional approach, this included a challenge from academic and church theologians. Society was nonetheless regarded as predominantly Christian in cultural expression and Religious Education was accordingly regarded as a subject which addressed a Christian culture. In the case of SCCORE, Bulletin 1 (1978), increasing secularisation was set against a small degree of change in religious affiliations through the influence of immigration in a society where the majority of those with religious affiliation were nonetheless Christian. SCCORE, Bulletin 2 (1981) reflected thinking that a religious view may develop which is personal, yet is nonetheless clear on the special place of Christianity within the community. The 5-14 National Guidelines (1992) in their intent to promote the development of morals and values, emphasised the role of Christianity in the laws and moral stance of society and conceived of those with non-religious viewpoints as a minority. The Curriculum for Excellence (2011), whilst advancing the skills necessary for citizenship in a diverse, pluralistic, society, emphasises the role of Christianity in developing the values deemed appropriate for effective citizenship, and the later supporting documentation for the Curriculum for Excellence, Principles and Practice (2014), require a defence of Christian values, as the values of Scotland, against other values. The Curriculum for Excellence regards Christian values as both historic and relevant to the contemporary setting.

Neither is there any suggestion in the documents that recent immigrants with adherence to religions other than Christianity exist in numbers such that they may be regarded as a factor influencing contemporary culture and values. Indeed, it is recognised that they ought not to influence those values.

At their introduction, the teaching of religions other than Christianity, and indeed the consideration of non-religious viewpoints, was regarded as a means of evaluating Christianity, in the sense of deepening understanding of Christianity through comparison with other views. The view that it was not possible to obtain a comprehensive understanding of religions other than Christianity persisted into the 5-14 National Guidelines, while Curriculum for Excellence regards the study of religions other than Christianity as useful for understanding the international rather than Scottish context. However, the teaching of religions other than Christianity would allow the development of respect for the religion and religious views of others. This contributed to the development of the personal search for meaning, value and purpose in life which took place within the context of a curriculum much concerned with Christianity, and the introduction of religions other than Christianity and non-religious views provided a means by which pupils could evaluate religious and non-religious responses in order to determine their own response.

To what extent is there change; in what ways has the nature and purpose of the subject changed?

The change advocated in the curriculum documents therefore is a change in the approach to the teaching of Christianity. The period may have begun with an instructional, if not confessional approach, to Religious and Moral Education, but this was within a context of conveying knowledge of the tenets of Christianity which comprised the cultural traditions and heritage of the population, without the need to draw out explicitly the relevance to either

national culture or the individual. Beginning with the Millar Report, the educational justification of Religious and Moral Education was articulated alongside an acknowledged dislocation of the majority of the population from attendance at a church, and explicitly stated the relevance of Christianity to both national culture and the individual. This resulted in an approach which emphasised a critical engagement with Christianity as a means to generate understanding of the tenets of Christianity which comprised the cultural traditions and heritage of the population. This was further developed in the search for meaning, value and purpose, with a critical engagement with the values of Christianity utilised as the basis of the search.

Further research

There is much scope for further research in this area. In the examination of the historical, cultural and religious context, the evidence pointed to the flaw in judging current levels of active association with religion by comparison with an imagined level of association in the past. The evidence also pointed to the widespread influence of Christian values in society at large by virtue of the Protestant Presbyterian heritage evident in Scottish institutions and in articulations of Scottish identity, alongside the evidence of the limited impact of external influences such as non-Christian religions. The conclusion is that over the period formal Christian observance has declined, but belief in, and adherence to, Protestant Christian values has remained dominant. There was no widespread rejection of these values. However, despite the continued teaching of these values in schools, the decline in church going may present the possibility of a divergence from Christian values over the period. Evidence relating to the acceptance of Christian values does not necessarily demonstrate an accurate understanding of Christian values amongst those who nevertheless state their adherence to Christian values. Identifying the exact degree and the nature of such divergence would influence the conclusions of this study. Equally, discovering the conscious and unconscious influence of

Christianity upon contemporary society would assist in determining whether Christianity is indeed such an active influence on society in the manner claimed by the documents.

The particular focus in the documentary analysis on interpreting the search for meaning, value and purpose as articulated in the curriculum documents and on understanding the importance of this search to the purpose of the subject, is mainly on a study of Scottish documents as understood in Scotland by Scots, given an understanding of the Scottish context, in order to elucidate the nature and purpose of Religious Education in Scotland. Sufficient comparison with the most recent texts on values education outside the Scottish context was made to highlight the distinction between Scottish education and education elsewhere, and the distinctiveness of Religious and Moral Education in Scotland, particularly in comparison with the rest of the UK, illustrating that the search for meaning, value and purpose and the teaching of moral values is not the same as values education as generally understood elsewhere. However, whilst this study is focussed on the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education in the Scottish context, and mention of other contexts serves simply to highlight the focus of the study, a deeper comparison with values education elsewhere would highlight the significance of the distinctiveness of Scottish Religious and Moral Education and the role it plays in developing Scottish cultural identity.

An analysis of qualification specifications contemporary to the curriculum documents would provide evidence of the practical implications of the documents. The fact of the absence of such specifications from general sources implies a lack of interest in this area amongst researchers and an oversight of the significance that ought to be attached to an examination of specifications, especially given their extreme significance to practitioners. An exam specification is arguably the ultimate authority for a practitioner.

It would also be pertinent to examine the degree to which the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education revealed in the curriculum documents studied were communicated successfully to practitioners, including local authority education officers, in terms of their interpretation and implementation. This would contribute further to a determination of the significance of the documents to current understanding as to the nature and purpose of Religious and Moral Education.

A comparative study of Religious and Moral Education in Scotland and Religious Education across the UK and beyond would also be useful in drawing out the distinctiveness of the subject within the Scottish context. This is important for practitioners in Scotland who in studying literature and research relating to Religious Education are in general examining material concerning curricula with a different rationale from that in their own context. In this respect a study of the documents and debates relating to the formation of the Curriculum for Excellence would also be most informative in delineating the Scottish influence from other influences and their adaptation to the Scottish context.

In particular it is important to understand that Religious Education in England has developed a rationale over time such that curriculum documents contemporary with Curriculum for Excellence show a requirement that the subject be an objective, value-neutral, survey of religious practices and beliefs, without critique and especially without criticism of religion. The purpose of the subject is to provide the ‘opportunity’ for spiritual development, by which is meant precisely that. There exists the potential for spiritual development, but unlike the Scottish subject, it is incidental and not a requirement (QCDA, 2007). Moreover, the values presented in Religious Education in England relate to tolerance and the acceptance of diverse religious belief, where religions are deemed worthy of equal respect (QCDA, 2007). There is no equivalent to Scottish Moral Education and where values are required to be taught in

England these are within the context of citizenship education and relate to a determined set of British values, such as, ’freedom of speech’ (QCDA,2007).

It is important to stress the value of an historical analysis of curriculum documentation in this respect as the nature and purpose of Religious Education in Scotland have emerged from the particular historical, cultural and religious context in which the subject developed, and the curriculum documents reveal that process. Religious Education in this sense has a role in Scottish cultural identity. As such it is particularly necessary to note that during the course of this study the curriculum documentation on which it is based was removed from general access, deemed unnecessary for current practitioners, and as such future historical research would first require the location of historic documents which are no longer published or publically available, in private hands.

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